

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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POETRY.

From the Emancipator. The Spirit of Freedom. Tear, tear from the flag staff, that "star spangled bar 'Tis liberty's ensign, why should it wave O'er a people who fanatically shout their hosanna,

To those who the freedom of thought would enslave?

We call ourselves free! then let Russian serfs, sw Beneath their dull yoke, talk of liberty sweet; Let the Holy Alliance, its doctrines forgetting, The champion of freedom with sympathy greet. The star of our glory! how faintly 'tis gleaming,

Which once o'er the ocean glow'd beauteous and bright, Like a pillar of fire, to our forefathers seeming, As onward they followed its westering light.

Hark! hear ye those shouts, in the eastern breeze swelling They come from the tyrants who've watch'd us in fear:-"She is fallen, is fallen, while yet she was telling "Her fond tale of freedom-ye nations give ear!

"We hail thee, fair sister, and welcome thee gladly! "Come fill up our ranks and assist us to quell "Those fierce rebel spirits, who struggle so madly, "To throw off a yoke which befits them so well.

"Go tell the fanatics, like them you've been dreaming, "Of reason, equality, freedom and right; "But 'tis all a delusion, and little beseeming, "The weak and the poor, who should crouch to our might."

Oh God! have we cast, in our folly and madness Our birthright away, and become but a jest, In the eyes of the nations? Let shame and deep so Be felt, that no refuge is left the opprest.

Ye heroes! who sleep in the field of your glory, Where Hudson rolls onward her tide to the main, Well nigh will it break your death slumber-the story "Your children have sunk into hondage again."

Not yet! for a remnant their faith are still keeping. The spirit of freedom is up and awake: From the grave where her martyr is peacefully sleeping, The light of a glorious morning shall break. He hath fallen in his armor, while nobly defending

A treasure more priceless than mines of Peru; From the spot where he moulders, a cry is ascending, Which thrills every bosom yet faithful and true. A voice hath gone forth, like the deep waters rushing;

It calls for a press all unshackled and free: And schoed in thunder, from mountain to sea.

Our country! her free institutions forever! We swear to defend them through danger and pain; No despot on earth, our bless'd union shall sever, So fling out the "star spangled banner" again.

COURT IN BANK. JAMES G. BIRNEY,

THE STATE OF OHIO.

Argument for Defendant-By S. P. Chase. The circumstances connected with the prosecu tion of the defendant, for harboring and secreting the mulatto woman Matilda, are so generally known, that a brief recapitulation of them can hardly be regarded, as an improper introduction to the consideration of the questions presented by the record. An individual, named Larkin Lawrence, was proceeding sometime in the year 1836, from his residence in Maryland, to a new home in Missouri, taking with him the woman Matilda, and claiming her as his slave. In the course of his journey, the boat, on which he was descending the Ohio, stopped at Cincinnati, and while lying at the ing, Matilda left Lawrence, without his consent. Shortly after, she was received into the defendant's house as a servant, and, it being understood that some person claimed her as a slave, and that attempts would be made to obtain possession of her person, with a view of reducing her again to slavery, the defendant advised her to remain within doors: and, on one occasion, when, it seems, some unusual alarm for her safety existed, caused her to remove to a house in the vicinity of the town, where she remained, employed as a servant, for several months, at the end of which time she returned to the service of defendant. In all this the defendant acted under the belief that the woman, if she had ever been a slave, was enfranchised by the operation of the Constitution of Ohio, the moment she was placed by her master's act within the territory of the State. For these acts ndant was persecuted under the act of 1804. regulating black and mulatto persons, found guilty, and fined. The object of the present writ of error is, to test the constitutionalty of the enactment under which the prosecution was instituted, and the legality of a conviction for harboring and secreting a person, as property, who has been brought with-in the limits of Ohio by the individual claiming to

The Count in the indictment of which the deant was found guilty, charged that he "unlawfully harbored and secreted a certain mulatto girl by the name of Maulda, then being a slave and the property of one Larkin Lawrence." The act, under which the prosecution was instituted, makes it a penal offence to "harbor or secrete any black or mulatto person, being the property of any person

Now I maintain, that it is impossible, in Ohio to commit the offence of harboring or secreting a person being the property of another person. maintain that the relation of owner and property maintain that the relation of owner and property, as existing between person and person, has or can have no existence in this state; and I maintain sound interestions as the inevitable results of a sound interpretation of the Constitution of Ohio; and as an full harmony with every provision of the nation of the United States, and of the Orsitions as I maintain them, it must follow that so much of the is act of 1804, as inflicts a penalty for violating a relation which cannot constitutionally exist, must be repugnant to the constitution, and

And certainly, no argument is needed to prove that the relation of owner and property, as between man and man, cannot exist under the constitution of Ohio. This instrument declares "that all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain natural, inherent, and unalienable rights, among which are enjoying and defending ife and liberty; acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety." It also declares as a direct consequence of those fundamental truths, "that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this State, otherwiwise than for the punishment of crimes;" and that "no alteration of the constitution shall ever take place, so as to introduce slavery or involuntary servitude into this state." From these extracts it appears, that the one principle which the framers were especially anxious to make prominently conspicuous, and to surround with safeguards the most impregnable, was the equal freedom of all men; and the one thing which they sought to brand with deepest reprobation, and to is condemned by reason and the laws of nature. exclude forever from the institutions of the state, was the slavery of man to man. It cannot be doubted, then, that were Ohio a distinct and independent nation, no such relation as owner and property could exist, as between man and man; nor could any law recognising and protecting such a relation be of the least validity.

But Ohio is not a separate and independent nation. We regard the federal constitution and the ordinance of 1787, as of higher authority than our state constitution. If these recognise this relation and sanction it, state legislation may constitutionally recognise and protect it. We must examine, and endeavor to ascertain the import of the provisions in the ordinance, and in the constitution of the United States. The provision in the ordinance is in these words-"any person escaping into the same" (i. e. the Northwest Territory) "from whom are so prejudicial or not: and it is only in cases labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid." The provision in the federal constitution was obviously taken from that in the ordinance, and is as follows: "No person, held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor; but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such labor or service In order to arrive at the true import of these pro

visions, it is proper to refer to the history of the

country at the time when they were incorporated, first into the fundamental compact of the territory and people northwest of the Ohio with the States people of the Union; and soon after, into that of all the states with each other. It was then acknowledged that in some of the states institutions existed so incompatible with slavery, that the slave who might escape into them would become a free man the moment he should enter their territory, while in other states, slavery was recognised and protected by fundamental law and legislative enact ments. This state of things is implied in the constitutional provision just cited. Institutions must have existed in some states, by the operation of slaveholding states were apprehensive of the losses they might sustain in consequence of this state of things, and all dreaded its consequences to the Union. To obviate the apprehended evil, the clause which has just been cited was introduced into the constitution, as a clause of compact beween the states, similar to the clause which had been just before inserted in the ordinance and expressly declared to be a clause of compact between he original states and the people and states of the northwest territory. It was cautiously framed, so as to avoid all recognition of the condition of slavery, or the relation of ownership between man and man. It left the several states free to create, or continue, or to abolish such relations between individuals within their several territories as they pleased, just as they had been under the articles of confederation. It required each state to deliver up servants escaping into its territory from other states to their lawful masters-to deliver them up as servants, not as slaves, far less as property. It bound each to recognise and protect, in a particular class of cases, the relation of master and servant, as established by the laws of sister states, but no other additional relation. It left the whole responsibility of all other relations upon the states which might establish or continue them. I am very confident that this construction exhibits the true import of this constitutional provision, and the more confident, because the very terms of the provision seem to exclude every other interpretation. For who is to be delivered up? Any person held to service be deemed such, after their removal thither.' and escaping. Are slaves and human chattels alone held to service? Surely not. To say nothing of servants for hire, there is the great class of apprentices, who are "held to service" in the strictest sense of the terms, and yet are neither slaves nor property. It cannot be denied that the provision nbraces the case of an escaping apprentice, and if so, all argument, whether or not it recognizes property as a relation of one human being to another, must be at an end. It recognizes no such reation. On the contrary, the exact reverse of such

recognition is strongly implied. Another argument that no such recognition was ntended, is to be found in the statute books of that period. I refer the court especially to the statutes of Virginia.* It will be found that those statutes describe three classes of persons held to service; apprentices, servants, and slaves; and that the right of recapture is provided for in regard to each class. It could not be said then that a statute of Virginia, providing for the recapture of persons held to service, would contain any recognition o the relation of property as between persons. It would only recognise a general relation, which might exist indeed in connection with that other elation, but might also exist independent of it.

If I am correct in this construction of the consti-ution and the ordinance, it follows that there is no ing in either, which requires or authorises the ture of any state to pass laws for the protection of the right of property in human beings. Every purpose, intended to be answered by the provisions in either instrument, may be effectually complished without any such degradation of the nan-slaveholding states. And if so, the provision of the act under which this indictment was found, abhorrent as it is to the whole spirit of our institu-

ution, must be void.

The second question presented by the record, and the only remaining question to which I wish to call the attention of the Court, is this: was the woman Matilda, at the time she was employed by the defendant as a servant, the slave of Larkin Lawrence? Admitting, for argument's sake, the prosecution to be constitutional, was the offence charged in the indictment, actually committed?

Now, it is certain that slavery, wherever it exists, is a creature of positive institution. It has no support in natural right; on the contrary, it is in direct derogation of natural right. Before slavery can be, natural right must be overborne by force, custom, or legislation. In the language of the highest court in Louisiana,(1) "the relation of owner and slave is, in the states of this Union, in which it has a legal existence, a creature of the municipal law." In the still more emphatic language of the Supreme Court of Mississippi,(2) "Slavery It exists, and can only exist, through municipal regulations, and in matters of doubt, is it not an nquestioned rule, that courts must lean in favorem vitæ et libertatis?"-It is also certain, that the municipal regulations of no State have propria vigore, any extra territorial force. "There is no doubt," says Chancellor Kent, "of the truth of the general proposition, that the laws of a country limits, and their authority is admitted in other States, not ex propria vigore, but ex comitate, or in the language of Huberus, 'quatenus sine prejudicio indulgentia fieri protest." -- It is also certain that "no nation is under any obligation to give effect to the laws of another nation, which are prejudicial to itself or its citizens; that in all cases, each nation must judge for itself, what foreign laws not so prejudicial, that a spirit of comity and a sense of mutual utility, ought to induce every nation to allow full force and effect to the laws of every other nation."(3) It is also undeniably true, that in all enlightened nations, which do not tolerate slavery, the laws of other states in which it is tolerated, are held to be so prejudicial to the non-slaveholding states and their citizens, and so repugnant to the spirit of their institutions, that slaves held under such laws, cease to be slaves the moment they come within their territories. "It has been decided, that the law of England abhors and will not endure the existence of slavery within

per is, in truth, an undisputed axiom of English "Slaves cannot breathe in England, if their lungs, Receive our air, that moment they are free:— They touch our country, and their shackless fall.

the nation; and consequently, as soon as a slave

lands in England he becomes ipso facto, a free

man, and discharged from that state of servitude.'

(4) So that that the fervid exclamation of Cow-

So also in France. "That such is the benig and liberal effect of the laws and customs of tha country," is declared by the highest court of Louisiana.(5) It is then, not to be questioned, that the of nations has, in no instance, induced any which, the servant escaping into them, was dis- enlightened state to tolerate the slavery, created by charged from his involuntary service, for otherwise the laws of another state, within its territory. On this claim would have been nugatory .- And Mr. the contrary, it has been uniformly held, by the Madison, in the course of the debates in the con- tribunals of slaveholding states, that slaves per vention of Virginia, speaking of the condition of mitted by their masters to reside within the limits things then existing says—"At present, if any of non-slaveholding states, become free, through slave elopes to any of those states where slaves are the operation of their laws. (6)-It being true then free, he becomes emancipated by their laws." The that each nation and state must determine for itself to what extent it will admit, upon the principle of comity, the laws of other nations and states to operate within its limits, it remains to enquire, so far as the present question is concerned, how far the state of Ohio admits, upon that principle, the operation of laws that sanction slavery. And the scope of this inquiry is very limited. We have but to turn to the ordinance, and we find the fundamental and unalterable compact, between the original states and the people and states of the North-Western Territory, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude within that Territory forever. Turning to the constitution of the state, we find the same express interdict reiterated, in the same terms, by the voice of the people. The ordinance then, and the state constitution, expressly prohibit the application of the principles of comity to cases of this description. There is an excepte class of cases, it is true-excepted in the ordinance and excepted in the constitution of the United States which, paramount to the state constitution But upon every slave brought within the limits of Ohio, and not embraced within the strict terms of the exception, this great interdict operates with unbroken force. "Independent of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States," says Judge Story, "for the protection of the rights of the mas ters in regard to domestic fugitive slaves, there is no doubt that the English principle pervades the common law of the non-slaveholding states in America: that is, foreign slaves would no longer The courts of this state then, are tied up from d ciding any person to be a slave, unless that perso falls strictly within the exception of the federa constitution. They have nothing to do with the

principles of comity.

What then is that exception? What person compose that unfortunate class, whose fetters car not be broken by the spirit of our state institutions The clause creating the exception has been already excited. It provides that no persons, held to ser vice in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall by any law or regulationt herein be discharged from such service. Persons held to service in one state, and escoping into another then, compose the class which are not to be en franchised by the operation of the ordinance and our State Constitution. Was the woman Matilda a person of this class? Was she held to service in one state, and did she escape into another? At the time she left the individual who claimed to be her master, she was within the territorial limits o Ohio, by the consent of that individual. If she had ever been a slave, she had ceased to be such that noment when she was brought by Lawrence within these limits, and she had power to go whither soever she chose.-Her act in leaving Lawrence, under these circumstances, was in no just sense of the term, an escape. It was the first exercise of the Constitution of Ohio had

conferred upon her. I am aware that some decisions can be found which maintain that slaves travelling with their masters through free states will not become free; but these decisions, so far as I have become ac quainted with them, were made by the courts of slave-holding states, under no solemn obligation to maintain the constitution of the non-slaveholding states, to which they denied in these cases, its legi-mate effect; and I look in vain for my warrant for

tions, and to the express provisions of our consti- such decisions. Where is the authority for adding to the class of fugitive servants, excepted by the federal constitution from the otherwise inevitable operation of free institutions, another class, name , that of slaves travelling with their masters? The Constitution of the U. States declares that the provisions of the state constitution shall not affect the condition of servants escaping from the other states into Ohio; and the state constitution yields to the paramount authority of the federal constitution

And then some judge decides that the state consti-tution shall not affect the condition of slaves traveling through Ohio with their masters:-shall the state constitution yield to this decision? Plain common sense, formed by every principle of sound construction, answers no,-and must prevail.

It follows then, that at the time the woman Matilda was received into the service of the defendant, she was not a slave, or the property of any person, and, of course, that the offence charged has not been, in fact, committed.

I have attempted, by the preceding arguments. to vindicate the constitution of my country from the reproach, in my judgment most undeserved, of recognising the relation of property as between man and man. I have endeavored to define the true office and purpose of the provision in that sacred instrument which provides for the recapture of fugitive servants. I have sought to vindicate the legitimate authority of the constitution of my state. have no binding force beyond its own territorial I feel that these are matters of infinitely greater importance than any mere questions of property; and, if I have not been altogether unsuccessful in my efforts, I shall not regret the occasion which a novel and singular prosecution has afforded for the discussion of these questions.

S. P. CHASE, for the Defendant

(1) Lunsford vs. Coquillon, 14 Martin's Rep. 401. (2) Harvey et al vs. Decker & Hopkins, Walker's Rep.

Story on Conflict of Laws, 75.

Maria Louise vs. Mariot, 8 Martin's Rep. 375. 14 Martin's Rep. 401; 2 Marsh. Rep. 467; Gilman's

From the Evening Post. Power of Congress over the District of Columbia No. 11.

2. Slavery as a legal system is the creature of egislation. To create it, was to assert that both fact and the question of its existence, are within the sphere of legislation. Of course lation would not travel out of its sphere, in abolishing what is within it, and was recognized to be within it, by its own act. Cannot legislatures repeal their own laws? If law can take from a man his rights, it can give them back again. If it can say, "your body belongs to your neighbor," it can say it belongs to yourself, and I maintain your right. If it can annul a man's right to himself, held by express grant from his maker and can create for another, an artificial title to him, can it not annul the artificial title, and leave the original owner to hold himself by his original title?

3. The abolition of slavery has always been within the acknowledged sphere of legislation.-Almost every civilized nation has abolished slavery by law. The history of legislation since the revival of letters, is a record crowded with testinony to the universally admitted competency of the law-making power to abolish slavery. It is so manifestly an attribute not merely of absolute sovereignty, but even of ordinary legislation that the competency of a legislature to exercise it may well nigh be reckoned among the law axioms of the civilized world. Even the night of the dark ages, was not dark enough to make this invisible.

The abolition decree of the great council of Eng and was passed in 1102. The memorable Irish decree "that all the English slaves in the whole of Ireland, be immediately emancipated and restored to their former liberty" was issued in 1171 .-Slavery in England was abolished by a general charter of emancipation in 1331. Passing over many instances of the abolition of slavery by law, both during the middle ages and since the reformation, we find them multiplying as we approach our own times. In 1776 slavery was abolished in Prussia by special edict. In St. Domingo, Cayenne, Gaudaloupe and Martinique, in 1794, where more than 600, 000 slaves were emancipated by the French Government -by the Congress of Chili in 1821-in Java, 1811-in the southern provinces of Burmah, 1826-in Ceylon, 1815-in Buenos Ayres, 1816-in St. Helen, 1819-in Columbia, 1821—in Cape Colony, 1823—in Peru, Guatamala and Montevideo, 1828—in Bolivia, 1826 -in Malacca, 1825-in Jamaica, Barbadoes, Bernudas, the Mountius, St. Christophers, Nevis, the Virgin Islands, Antigua, Montserrat, Dominica, St. Vincents, Grenada, Berbice, Tobago, St Lucia, Trinidad, Honduras, Demerara, and the Cape of Good Hope, on the 1st of August, 1834. waving details, suffice it to say that England, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Austria, Prussia, and Germany, have all and often given their testimony to the competency of the law making power to abelish slavery. In our own the Legislature of Pennsylvania framed n act of abolition in 1780, Connecticut in 1784 Rhode Island 1784, New York 1899, New Jersey n 1804, Vermont, by Constitution, in 1777, Mass. husetts in 1780, and New Hampshire in 1784.

When the competency of the law-making power to abolish slavery, has thus been recognized ever where and for ages; when it has been embodied it the highest precedents, and celebrated in the thousand jubilees of regenerated liberty, is it forsooth, an achievment of modern discovery, that such a power is a nullity ?--that all these acts of abolition re void, and that the millions disenthralled by them are, either themselves or their posterity, still legally

4. The legislative power has abolished slavery in its party. The law of South Carolina prohibits the working of slaves more than fifteen hours in the twenty-four. [See Brevard's Digest, 253.] In other words, it takes from the slaveholder his power can take nine hours, it may take twenty four. If two-fifths then five-fifths. The laws of Georgia prohibit the working of slaves on the first day of the week; and if they can do it for the first, they can for the six following. Laws embodying the same principle have existed for ages in nearly all when it must bear and adopt it."—Jefferson governments that have tolerated slavery.

2. The law of North Carolina prohibits the "im oderate" correction of slaves. If it has power to do that, it can prohibit moderate correction—a correction, which would be virtual emancipation for take from the master the power to inflict pain, and he is master no longer. Cease to ply the slave with the stimulus of feer and he is free. Laws similar to this exist in slaveholding government generally

3. The law of Louisiana makes slaves real es tate, prohibiting the holder, if he be also a land holder, to separate them from the soil. If it has power to prohibit the sale without the soil, it can prohibit the sale with it; and if it can prohibit the sale as property, it can prohibit the holding as property. Similar laws exist in the French, Spanish and Por-

4. The law of Louisiana requires the master to give his slaves a certain amount of food and clothing, (Martin's Digest, 610.) If it can oblige the master to give the slave one thing, it can oblige him to give him another: if food and clothing, then wages, liberty, his own body. Such laws exist in most slaveholding governments.

5. By the slave laws of Connecticut, under which slaves are now held, (for even Connecticut is still a slave State,) slaves might receive and hold property, and prosecute suits in their own name as plaintiffs: (This last was also the law of Virginia in 1795. See Judge Tucker's "Dissertation on Slavery," p. 73.) There were also laws making legal marriage contracts, in certain contingencies, and punishing infringements of them. ("Reeves" law of Baron and Femme," pp. 340-1.) Each of the laws enumerated above does, in principle, abolish slavery; and all of them together abolish it in fact. True, not as a whole, and at a stroke, nor all in one place; but in its parts, by piecemeal, at divers times and places; thus showing that the abolition of slavery is within the boundary of legislation.

From the Evening Post. Power of Congress over the District of Columbia. No rit

5. The competency of the law-making power to abolish slavery, has been recognized by all the slave-holding States, either directly or by implication. Some recognize it in their Constitutions, by express prohibitory restrictions. 'The Constitutions of Mississippi, Arkansas, and other States, restrict the power of the legislature in this respect. Why this express prohibition, if the law-making power cannot abolish slavery? A stately farce, indeed, formally to construct a special clause, and with appropriate rites induct it into the Constitution, for the express purpose of restricting a nonentity !-to take from the law-making power what it never had! Why have not the legislatures of these States power to abolish slavery? The Constitutions have expressly taken away that power. The people of Arkansas, Mississippi, &c. well knew the competency of the law-making power to abolish slavery, and hence their zeal to restrict it. The fact that these and other States have inhibited their legislatures from the exercise of this power, shows that the abolition of slavery is acknowledged to be a proper subject of legislation, where Constitutions impose no restrictions.

6. Some of the slave holding states recognize

this power in their laws requiring "a special act of Assembly" to set a slave free, and the rendering of "some distinguished service to the State" as a pre-requisite. North Carolina and Georgia in and proclaimed by its mover. That motion was States the territory now constituting the States of Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi made it a condition of the grant, that the provisions of the ordinance of '87, should be secured to the inhabitants. with the exception of the sixth article which prohibits slavery; thus conceding, both the competer cy of law to abolish slavery, and the power of Congress to do it, within its jurisdiction. Besides. these acts show the prevalent belief at that time, in the slave holding States, that the general government had adopted a line of policy aiming at the exclusion of slavery from the entire territory of the United States, not included within the original States, and that this policy would be pursued unless prevented by specific and formal stipulation.

Slave states have asserted this power by their udicial decisions. In numerous cases their highest courts have decided that if the legal owner of slaves takes them into those States where the laws or the constitution has abolished slavery, such removal emancipates them, such laws or constitutions abolishing their slavery. This principle is asserted in the decision of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, in the case of Lunsford vs. Loquillon, 14 Martin's, Louisiana reports 401. Also, by the Supreme Court of Virginia, in the case of Hunter vs. Fulcher, 1 Leigh's rep. 172. The same doctrine was laid down by Judge Washington, of the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Butler vs. Hopper, Washington's Circuit Court reports, p. 208. This principle was decided also by the courts of Appeal in Kentucky; case of Rankin vs. Lydia, Marshall's rep. 407; see also, Wilson vs. Isbell, 5 calls rep. 425, Spotts vs. Gillespie, 6 Randolph's rep. 566. The States vs. Lasseller, 1 Blackford, rep. 60, Marie Louise vs. Mariot, 8 Louisiana rep. 475. In this case, which was tried in 1836, the slave had been taken by her master to France and brought back; Judge Matthews, of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, decided that "residence for one noment" under the laws of France emancipated

8. Eminent statesmen, themselves slaveholders, have admitted this power. Washington, in a let-ter to Robert Morris, dated April 12, 1786, says: "There is not a man living who wishes more sin cerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abo ition of slavery, but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by *legislative* authority." In a letter to Lafayette, dated May 10, 1786, he says: "It (the abolition of slavery) certainly might, and assuredly ought to be effected, and that too by legislative authority." In a letter to John Fenton Mercer, dated Sept. 9, 1786, he says: "It is among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." In a letter to Sir John Sinclair, he says: "Then are in Pennsylvania, laws for the gradual abolition has at present, but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not re-mote." Jefferson, in speaking of movements in over nine hours of the slave's time daily; and if it the Virginia Legislature in 1777 for the passage of say, the freedom of all born after a certain day; but it was was found that the public mind would not bear the proposition, yet the day is not far distant when it must bear and adopt it."—Jefferson's Me-moirs, v. 1, p. 35. It is well known that Jeffer-son, Pendleton, Mason, Wythe, and Lee, were ap-pointed a committee by the Virginia House of Delegates, and prepared a plan for the gradual eman pation of the slaves by law. These men ment great lights of Virginia. Mason was the author of the sister republic.

Virginia Constitution; Pendleton, the President of The character and objects of the revolution will the memorable Virginia Convertion in 1787, and be beet understood by a short extension of faces.

President of the Virginia Court of Appeals; Wythe was the Blackstone of the Virginia bench, for a quarter of a century Chancellor of the State, the professor of law in the University of William and Mary, and the preceptor of Jefferson, Madison and Chief Justice Marshall. He was author of the celebrated remonstrance to the English House of Commons on the subject of the stamp act. As to Jefferson, his name is his biography.

Every slaveholding member of Congress from the States of Maryland, Virginia, North and South

Carolina, and Georgia, voted for the celebrated or-dinance of 1787, which abolished the slavery then existing in the Northwest Territory. Patrick Henry, in his well known letter to Robert Pleasants, of irginia, January 18, 1773, says, "I believe a time will come when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil." William Pinkney, of Maryland, advocate, the abolition of slavery by law, in the legislature of that State in 1789. Luther Martin urged the same measure both in the islature of Maryland. In 1796, St George Tucker, professor of law in the University of William and Mary, and Judge of the General Court, published an elaborate dissertation on slavery address to the General Assembly of the State, and urging upon them the abolition of slavery by law.

John Jay, while New York was yet a slave State and himself in law a slaveholder, said in a letter from Spain, in 1786, "an excellent law might be made out of the Pennsylvania one, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Were I in your legisla-ture I would present a bill for the purpose, drawn up with great care, and I would never cease moving it till it became a law, or I ceased to be a mem-

Daniel D. Tompkins, in a message to the Legislature of New York, January 8, 1812, said, "to devise the means for the gradual and ultimate extermination from amongst us of slavery is a work worthy the representatives of a polished and enlightened nation.

The Virginia Legislature arrested this power in 1832. At the close of a month's debate the following proceedings were had. I extract from an editorial article of the Richmond Whig of January 26, 1832.

"The Report of the select Committee, adverse to legislation on the subject of Abolition, was in these words: Resolved, as the opinion of this Committee, that it is inexpedient for the present, to make any legislative enactments for the abolition of Sla-This Report Mr. Preston moved to reverse, and thus to declare that it was expedient, now to make Legislative enactments for the abolition of slavery. This was meeting the question in its strongest form. It demanded action, and immediate action. On this proposition the vote was 58 to 73. Many of the most decided friends of abolition voted against the amendment; because they thought public opinion not sufficiently prepared for it, and that it might prejudice the cause to move too rapidly. The vote on Mr. Witcher's motion to postpone the whole subject indefinitely. indicates the true state of opinion in the House .-That was the test question, and was so intended by that vote, declared their belief that at the proper time, and in the proper mode, Virginia ought to commence a system of gradual abolition.

9. The Congress of the United States asserted the competency of the regulation and power to abolish slavery. The ordinance of '87, declaring that there should be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in the North Western territory, abolished the slavery then existing there. The Su preme Court of Mississippi, in its decision in the case of Harvy vs. Decker, Walker, Mississippi Reps. 36, declares that the ordinance emancipated the slaves then held there. The Supreme Court of Louisiana made the same decision in the case of Forsyth vs. Nash, 4 Martin's, Louisiana Reps. 385. The same doctrine was laid down by Judge Porter, (late United States Senator from Louisiana,) in his decision at the March term of the Louisiana Supreme Court, 1830, in the case of Merry vs. Chexnaider, 20 Martin's Reps. 639.

That the ordinance abolished the slavery then exsting, is also established by the fact, that persons holding slaves in the territory petitioned for the repeal of the article abolishing slavery, assigning as a reason, "the petition of the citizens of Randolph and St. Clair counties in the Illinois country, stating that they were in possession of slaves, and praying the repeal of that act (the 6th article of the ordinance of 87) and the passage of a law legalizing slavery there," (Am. State papers, Public Lands, v. 1, p. 69.) It should be kept in mind that Congress passed this ordinance before the United States Constitution was adopted, when it derived all its authority from the articles of Conederation, which gave far less power of legislation, than is given to Congress over the District and Territories by the United States Constitution .-Now we ask, how does the Constitution abridge the powers which Congress possessed under the articles of confederation?

OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE, Relative to the Annexation of Texas to the Union. SENATE, JAN. 12, 1838.

Mr. Wade, from the select committee on the ubject, made the following REPORT:-The committee to which were referred sundry remonstrances against the annexation of Texas to

the Union, have had the same under consideration, and now report: That the question of the annexation of Texas

the Union may be considered in a twofold light, wit-As to the expediency and the constitu ionality of the measure. Its expediency depends on, first, whether it be consistent with the honor of our own government, and justice to the governsistent with justice to the non-slaveholding states; or, thirdly, with the safety and happiness of th

Whether consistent or not with the national honor, will be best known by accertaining the object of the Texan revolt, and the part taken in it by the people and government of the United States. If the object of the revolution were to wrest Texas from Mexico, in order to extend over wrest feats from Mexico, in order to extend over that province the system of domestic slavery, and for this purpose the revolt were planned and exe-cuted by citizens, and connived at by the govern-ment of the United States, then its annexation to the Union would be viewed in no other light than as a wicked and indefensible plunder of a defenceless

been taken to enforce her emancipation laws until ences of our own institutions, and located by the 1833. Up to this time the Texan emigrants had side of a vast territory thinly peopled and defenceevaded those laws by taking from their slaves in-dentures for 99 years. In this year the Mexican federative government was abolished, and a con-stimulate to an equally unprincipled conquest of solidated government was abolished, and a con-solidated government was established, with Gen. Santa Anna at its head. The emancipation laws, which had been openly disregarded by the Texan emigrants, were attempted to be carried into effect. From these efforts by the Mexicans to enforce those laws, arose the first uneasiness of the Tex-ans; and from that time all submission to the strength and territory in the slaveholding region. Mexican authorities was thrown off by the colon- It would greatly multiply the occasions of foreign ists. Previous to this time, immense tracts of Texas lands had been purchased by speculators in all the principal cities in the United States, and had been made the subject of enormous gambling speculations. The editors of many of the leading newspapers of both political parties in the United States enlisted themselves in the cause of Texas; ther, by some four degrees of latitude, our line of this territory presented great advantages to the defenceless sea-coast. In return for all these evils cotton and sugar planters, and opened a boundless we should get some four or five states enfeebled market for slaves. The slave-growing states, Vir- by the inherent and inseparable vices of the unnaginia, Maryland, Kentucky and North Carolina, tural institutions of slavery. A system of weakwere not unmindful of the prospect of so vast a ness and rottenness, when called to resist an ene market for the vendible portion of their slave po- my flushed with the love of liberty. In case of pulation. In 1830 it was declared in the Vir- war with a power to whom the system has become ginia Legislature, that the acquisition of Texas odious, (and we shall not soon meet with any would enhance the value of slaves in Vir- other,) what could prevent our being attacked at ginia at least one-third. Texas comprises a ter- this defenceless point; and if attacked by an enemy ritory of about 150,000 square miles, or nearly irritated by the course of war, and by causes of ex four times larger than Ohio. The annexation of citement inseparable from its progress, what could this extensive territory to the Union, coming, as save such a community from destruction? In such it must, (if at all,) with the institution of slavery a war the enemy would proclaim liberty to the interwoven with the very texture of its social habits, held out hopes of political ascendancy ir- thus organized, from utter annihilation. resistible to the southern politician; those fertile lands, too, were a source of exhaustless wealth, and believed to be within reach of adventurers from all parts of the Union. Those lands were lavished by the revolted colonists with unexampled profusion on all who would migrate to Texas and assist in throwing off the Mexican yoke. These combined interests were exerted with a paralyzing influence on the national government.

ldiers were enlisted and rendezvoused in the streets of our principal cities under the eye of the national authorities, in defiance of the laws of the land, and in contempt of the law of nations .-Arms and munitions of war were furnished those troops with as much publicity as though the United States had been at open war with Mexico .-New Orleans was notoriously the head-quarters of those adventurers. No voice of admonition was heard from the national government; on the contrary, the entire south-western division of the army was ordered to the territory of Texas, with discretionary power in the commander-in-chief, Major-General Gaines, to enter the Mexican territory, as was pretended, to watch the movements of certain Caddo Indians, who were reputed by somebody to have, somewhere in Texas, com mitted a murder on an unknown individual. Gen Gaines, in open violation of national law, did enter the Mexican territory some sixty or seventy miles, and, as is generally believed, (and as is doubtless the fact,) effectually aided the hostile bands from the United States in their advance upon the Mexican territory. This general was in a position to have effectually prevented the influx of those armed parties, had this been the purpose for which he was ordered to Texas. The Mexican President was advancing upon the Texans, slaughter ing all before him with the ferocity of an exasperated barbarian; a declaration of independence was promulgated in Texas with mack solemnity in imitation of that of our forefathers; the consti tution of a "Republican Edifice" was formed, laying for the "chief corner-stone" everlasting slavery, without any power in the sovereign body to mitigate or abolish it; the United States were honored with a monopoly of the humane business of supplying the market of this new republic with name of liberty by the Americans in Texas, in the United States, newspapers of all parties, orators and politicians, and even ministers of the gospel of Christ, assured the people that their brethren in that oppressed region were struggling for civil and religious liberty. The effect was electrical. Soldiers and supplies were poured into Texas from all quarters, and at length, by the decisive battle of San Jacinto, General Houston made the Mexican President captive. The war was ended: Texas declared to be for ever separated from Mexico, and in the same moment these Americans in Texas propose terms of union with the United Texas is recognized as an independent power by the President, but legislation on the subject of annexation is declined, on the sole ground that Texas is at war, and the United States peace, with Mexico. But in less than two onths after the reasons for this refusal to nego tiate with Texas are made known to the people the President finds abundant cause of war with Mexico, and requests Congress to give him power to commence hostilities with that government. Whether Congress will comply, remains to be seen; but if it do, then all objections to negotiation will be overcome.

These are the leading facts in connection with what is called the Texan revolution; and in view of them the committee would ask,-by whom was this separation of Texas from Mexico effected? And their answer is, by citizens of the United States, in hostile array against a nation with whom the government of the United States was on terms of peace and amity. By whom might this most unjust and violent procedure have been prevented? We answer, the government of the United States, by compelling its citizens to obey her own laws; and by constraining them to regard the law of nations towards Mexico. But could she have done We answer, she did not make the attempt. In this view of the question, if Texas shall b

annexed to the Union, who can deny that it was plundered from Mexico by our citizens, with the silent consent of the government of the United States. Honor, justice, and humanity all forbid a union of this glorious confederacy, sealed with the blood of our patriot fathers, with an infant state, thus "conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity." But could this objection be overcome, still the annexation would be the grossest injustice to the non-slaveholding states. It would, in a very few years give the slaveholding interest derance in the national government; and would expose all the great interests of those states, their agriculture, commerce, and manufactures now regarded by the South with extreme jealousy version, to the destructive influence of the egislation. But what is of far greater imed, it would be a base abandonment of their funental principles of liberty and equality. How those principles stand with the proud declara-, "that all men are by nature free," standing at the head of their constitutions of government! How can we unite our destinies with a people who have engrafted slavery on their institutions as a condition which no power in the state can mitigate or shelish! How can those states entangle th with all their physical powers, such a state of in-excusable and wanton barbarity? The people of the free states cannot consent to be sold to the vile uses of a foreign independent power, for purposes so hostile to human liberty.

At the breaking out of the revolt, Texas was sup- ciently extended, and combines more conflicting posed to contain 40,000 people, seven-eighths of whom were emigrants from the United States, and those mostly from the slaveholding states.—
By far the greater number of those emigrants had settled in Texas subsequent to the year 1823. In that year Mexico abolished slavery throughout her territory; no effective measures, however, had been taken to enforce her emangination laws until less to the spirit of our institutions; a territory too remote from the influence of our arm institutions and leasted by the state of our arms. stimulate to an equally unprincipled conquest of more, and still more, until the whole Mexican territory would be overcome.

This extension of territory, with slavery rampant on every side, could not fail to loosen the attachment of the non-slaveholding states to the Union, in an inverse ratio of the increase of war; would require an augmentation, in time of peace five or six fold, of our standing army. It would generate questions of extreme difficulty and embarrassment with numerous and warlike tribes of Indians; it would weaken the whole nation in a war with a maritime power, by extending furslave, and no human power could save a society,

Should it be asked why the slaveholding po tions of the United States have not, before this, met the fate predicted? The reply is, because they have not yet been called to contend with such an enemy; all their wars have been with powers interested as deeply in sustaining the system of slavery as themselves. But this state of things can never again occur; and it is madness to tempt destruction, by extending this rotten and wicked system over what are now unpeopled solitudes.

The safety of the South, as well as the interest of the North and the honor of the whole nation, of the should give. He had cared very little about require that this suicidal measure be resisted with The safety of the South, as well as the interest unvielding firmness; and, in the opinion of the committee, it would be better that a voluntary dissolution of the Union should come at once, than to effect it by the fatal tendencies of this desperate

measure. But could all those difficulties be overcome there would still remain this insuperable objection: the constitution of the United States confers on Congress no power to connect a foreign state to the Union. By the third section of the fourth article of the constitution of the United States, Congress is empowered to admit new states into the Union. But this clause does not contemplate the admission of "old," or foreign and independent nations into the Union. A short time before the constitution was formed, the several states had ceded their vacant western territory to the confederation, as common property, conquered from Great Britain by the united valor of the whole confederacy. This clause was inserted with the sole view to empower Congress to admit "new" states which should grow up out of this vast

It is true Congress has, on two occasions, purchased colonial territory from foreign powers. We allude to the purchase of Louisiana and Florida. But we look in vain for any power, even for this purchase, in the constitution. But it is not necessary to discuss the constitutional question growing out of these purchases, as they cannot be cited dents for any thing beyond the cases them selves. They do not proceed the length of empowering Congress to consent to the annexation of a foreign independent power to the Union.-While this farce was acting in the But, instead of the purchases of Louisiana and Florida being a precedent for the annexation of Texas, the cases would have been similar, had Congress, instead of purchasing their colonial possessions, admitted France and Spain into "this Suppose a case of this kind, (and who Union." can tell what may occur?) Congress would then have power, and could be obliged by the constitution, to guarantee to a despotism "a republican form of government."

It is to be hoped, however, that Southern poliicians, who can discover no power conferred on Congress to protect domestic manufactures, or to charter a national bank, or to construct internal improvements, will not be able to discover the power to amalgamate this republic with a foreign

ndependent nation. In conclusion, the committee would propose the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State Ohio,-That in the name, and on behalf of the eople of Ohio, we do hereby protest against the annexation of the republic of Texas to the Union of these states, as unjust, inexpedient, and destructive of the peace, safety, and well-being of the nation; and we do, in the name, and on behalf of the people aforesaid, solemnly declare that Congress has no power conferred on it by the constitution of the United States, to consent to such annexation; and that the people of Ohio cannot be bound by any such covenant, league, or arrangement, made between Congress and any foreign state or nation.

And be it further resolved,-That the governo requested to transmit to each of our senators and representatives in Congress, and to the governor of each of the states, a copy of the foregoing

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS. SECOND SESSION.

From the National Intelligencer.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE. Saturday January 6, 1838.

ON MR. CALHOUN'S RESOLUTIONS. The resolutions of Mr. CALHOUN, on the relations,

The resolutions of Mr. Calhoun, on the relations, &c. of the State and General Governments coming up, and the question being on Mr. Monnis's amendment to the third resolution, declaring the freedom of speech and the press on all subjects indisputable, and under the supervision only of the State in which such freedom is exercised—

Mr. MORRIS resumed his remarks by saying that the error which he had committed the day before, in relation to the sentiments of the Methodist Conference, had afforded so much pleasure, that he did not regret having fallen into it.—

He made a brief explanation, which was believed to relate to this mistake, (but inaudible and unintelligible to the reporter.)

What, he asked, was the object of the resolutions under nesideration? It was to restrain and check the liberty of sech and of the press, and their first and principal domi-tion was now felt in the Senate. But, he repeated, that e attempt to stifle the freedom of speech and the press in is country, on moral or political subjects, would be a vain fort. But if it was sinful to discuss the question of slave-, or other subjects relating to other communities, he asked

object at all. But if the Constitution of the United States was held to guaranty the property in slaves, then that Constitution was, on this point, above the law and Constitution of any State, and the act of no State, therefore, could annul the property in slaves. ["State, under the laws thereof."] Mr. M. had used this argument before, and it would follow from it that the States were all still slaveholding States under the Constitution, and must continue so, beyond the power of this Government, unless the States generally should give that power.

give that power.

The Constitution, therefore, Mr. M. maintained, had left The Constitution, therefore, Mr. M. maintained, had left elavery precisely where it found it. But the framers of the Constitution had intended that the moral power of this instrument should abolish slavery in all the States, and accordingly the States began immediately to abolish slavery on its adoption. The ordinance of 1787, in relation to the northwestern territory, was adopted by Congress at the very time when the framers of the Constitution were sitting in Convention, and the Constitution was adopted two or three months after that ordinance. Now, could any one believe, while Congress, in the very face of the Convention, determined that slavery should not exist in that vast territory, that they did not intend that the moral power of the Consti-

mined that slavery should not exist in that vast territory, that they did not intend that the moral power of the Constitution should abolish slavery in the whole country?

Mr. M. went on to argue that, by the Constitution, Congress has the power to abolish slavery in the whole Union.*

More than twenty thousand citizens of Ohio were the friedds of emancipation; and he thought, when these potitions came up here, they did not deserve the treatment they received of being called incendiaries, and being branded with information.

my. Mr. M. concluded by explaining the object of his amendent, which was (he said) to enlarge more fully that which

had been offered by his colleague (Mr. Allex.)

Mr. PRESTON said he could see no shade of diffe Mr. HUBBARD celled upon Mr. Monnie to point out

Mr. MORRIS said, if the eagle eye of the member fre New Hampshire could not discern between the two, it would be a hopeless task for him to enlighten him. But, he would be a hopeless task for him to enlighten him. But, he would ask, if Mr. Hunnann could see no difference, why was he so much opposed to his, while he was in favor of the other?

Mr. CALHOUN suggested to Mr. ALLEN to withdraw is amendment for the present, as only tending to embarrass he general question, and to consent to introduce it at the

nd of the resolutious,
Mr. ALLEN assented; but, as the amendment could not now be withdrawn but by unanimous consent, it was agreed that a vote of rejection should be taken on it, pro forma, that it might be offered by the mover hereafter, when all the esolutions should have been acted on. The vote being accordingly taken, the amendment was negatived.

Mr. DAVIS then urged the propriety of Mr. SMITH's amendment being now taken up. It appeared to him the object of Mr. ALLEN's amendment had been to get rid of the other; and now that it was withdrawn, he thought the question ought to be taken on the amendmedt first offered by Mr. SMITH, of Indiana.

The question, however, being announced from the CHATH o be now on the third resolution—

Mr. PRENTISS rose, and said that, as the resolution un-

der consideration had been considerably modified, and rendered somewhat plausible by amendments, he wished to say a word feel quite indifferent as to the fate of any amendments which might hereafter be proposed, because it was his intention to vote against all the resolutions, without any critical examination into the truth or correctness of any of the proposi-tions contained in them. He should do this not only for the reason which had been frequently stated, that the vice of nullification was apparent upon the face of the resolutions, out for another reason also. It was obvious that they could neither add to nor abridge any of the constitutional rights of the People, by any resolutions they could adopt; and he deemed it not only unnecessary and useless, but highly inexpedient, to make a formal declaration of rights there, to assert abstract principles, in the form of resolutions, having no view to any practical results, and which might not only be liable to misconstruction and misapplication, but might occasion thereafter as much controversy as to their meaning as did the famous Virginia resolutions of '98. He did not wish to go into the subject at all, but merely to say that he should vote against all the resolutions, because he consider most of them wrong in principle, and all of them unnece

eary and inexpedient.

Mr. DAVIS next rose. He said that he had several tim briefly addressed the Senate upon this subject, which for two years or more had been greatly agitated, more so, probably, than was useful. As long ago as that, an effort was made to suppress petitions upon the subject of abolition in this body, and from thence till now the matter had received much attention at times, though both here and in the other House much regret had been expressed that it was agitated

At the first session of the last Congress, after a long, ani mated, denunciatory debate, carried on chiefly by the members from the South, the Senate arrived at certain results in regard to abolition petitions, in which he (Mr. D.) did not concur, but a very great majority did. It was proper to re-cur to the state of things then, and to call to mind the senti-ments of that day. The leading argument in that debate was, that the agitution of the question was a source of great danger, pregnant with ruinous consequences to the country, causing serious obstruction to the action of Congress, and great uneasiness out of doors. And it was most urgently insisted that it was one of those delicate topics which it was not safe to discuss, which, in truth, we had no right to disuss, either as regarded the States interested, or the District

of Columbia or the Territories.

Such, sir, being the avowed sentiments of a majority of the Senate, they proceeded to give to them sanction and practical effect; and they did suppress debate, and close the doors against petitions; for, though they resolved to receive them, immediately afterwards adopted the practice which has ever since been in force, as the journal will prove. A Senator, for example, offers a petition; another objects to the reception; the one holding the petition then moves for its reception; the other immediately moves to lay this motion on the table, which motion is not debateable, but is carried by a large majority. The consequence is, that the one presen-ting the petition is denied the right to lay it before the Senate, as the Senate refused to receive it. The Senate from South Carolina (Mr. Carnows) was in the lead of these meaures, and is it not true that he was sustained by an overbelming majority?

Mr. CALHOUN said the course which he marked out was ot followed at all.

Mr. Davis. I did not mean to say that the detail of the Senator's proposals was adopted, but that the Senate sustained the chief purpose he aimed at.

ed the chief purpose he simed at.

Mr. Calhour. I was in the minority in every vote on this subject. I wished to meet the petitions, and to refuse the admission of them. I wished to take higher and strongor ground. I was not averse to agitation,
Mr. Davis. I did not allege that the Senator was avers

o agitation, but that it was generally deprecated; and that his proposed measures looked to that end, as the journal nost fully proves. If the Senator had not interrupted me he would have had no occasion to complain, or to correct me, for I was about to notice what I am aware of, that the proposed course of the member was to meet the petition-ers at the door, shut it in their faces, turn them down stairs, and bid them begone; and that he urged the Senate to susain that view of the matter. In that I know there was a failure; but in his general object, though attained by dif-ferent means, he did fully succeed. He and his friends did rerent means, he did fully succeed. He and his friends did erect a barrier as high as he could desire—a barrier insurmountable to the petitioners, and as effectual to stop agitation and debate in this chamber, and the presentation of petitions, as it could be, short of penal liabilities. Discussion died with this arbitrary rule, because the Senate yielded obedience to it. If any thing of much inportance had since been said, it had escaped my observation. I therefore repeat that the object of the Senator had been attained; the petitioners have been driven away without a hearing a penaless and the statement of the senator had been attained; have been driven away without a hearing; no answer to their prayer has been made; no, not so much as to say they were in error. What, I would ask, could the Senator do beyond this, if the Senate yielded itself to his will? The Senate yielded itself to his will?

The Senator from Virginia (Mr. Rives) said yesterday, that the States could take care of themselves, if the channel through this Government was closed up; for he feared nothing from the abolitionists in their own territory. Did not the Senate close up this channel most effectually! Is it

not choked to the top, so that nothing can reach the Senate! What higher or stronger barrier can be made! There is but one that can be more effectual, and that is to make a law of Congress, consisting of pains and penalties. Make it felony, punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for any one to petition for the abolition of slavery in this District. If there be no right to petition, and the petitioners are violators of the Constitution, disturbers of the public peace, criminal agitators, threatening the safety of the Union, then such a law will be both constitutional and expedient.—
Let it be brought forward, for it will test the principles advocated, and out members to vote upon a responsibility beyond not choked to the top, so that nothing can reach the S Let it be brought forward, for it will test the principles advocated, and put members to vote upon a responsibility beyond a mere expression of opinion. Send such offenders against the public peace and public justice to the judicial tribunals, if such is the sense of Congress, to receive the reward of their merits. This would bear the stamp of consistency.—

If the doctrines which tend to such results are sound, then let them go forth in a form that shall be understood and felt. Let those who demand relief take the remedy fearlessly into their hands, and they will soon learn the views of the Public on this right of petition. This would be more manly than to agitate the Public with threats. It would fence the People out from the Capitol, and separate them from their own Government. It would consign offenders to infamy for presumptuously daring to approach these halls to make a humble request. The Senator has not proposed to go this length:

and although he was quite right in saying he was in a minority, yet it as obvious that he effected his main object. Petitions continued to come here, but to what end! Neither to he read, heard, nor received. Not one has since come to the possession of the Senate so as to be in order for its action, nor, under existing practice, could one come to its

In this state of things, why are we appealed to for new measures, which can do no more than accomplish the same thing, if they do as much? Why does the Senator from Carolina, when so solicitous to exclude from these halls the petitions—when he has steadfastly maintained that Congress has no right to debate or act on the subject—why does he voluntarily introduce it here? A subject too delicate to agitate: one which, it is said, we ought not to discuss, and have no right to consider? Why then is discussion invited? Why is examination provoked? Why is controversy challenged?

For myself, said Mr. D., I have been disposed to respect the avowed feelings of Southern Senators; and as they

the avowed feelings of Southern Senators; and as the t, leaving it in the hands of the mover and those interested I had no purpose of changing my course till that Senator yesterday, threw down the glove, and challenged discussion, in terms which almost made it dishonorable to forbear.—
This challenge, and this alone, has induced me to rise, for I had resolved that the Senator should be left free to act upon the majority, which goes with him, with whatever power he might, while he adhered to the litton, although my own constituents have written to me inviting my attention to these resolutions; not because of their effect upon the abolitionists, but because they embrace other matters of high moment and of objectionable character. I would have taker

moment and of objectionable character. I would have taken the hazard of disregarding these calls upon me, but I could not be silent under the challenge of the Senator.

The Senator says we can bring no objection against his resolutions while we vote against them, inferring from our silence that we vote in a blind and senseless manner. I deem his inference, from his premises, wholly unwarranted, for the larger portion of the votes we give are recorded without offering the reasons to the Senate upon which they rest. But I have many objections to these resolutions, more than I shall find physical ability to express, and the strong est of those objections are to their political character.

They are not called for, are not more efficient than the

neasures now in force, and can do no good. They are, as has been well said, (a part of them, at least,) mere abstrac tions or avowals of abstract doctrines no way demanded by the occasion. They embrace matters having no connexion with abolition, and call upon us to commit ourselves to an interpretation of the Constitution when there is no emergency arising in the course of our public duty requiring u gency arising in the course or our public duty requiring us to give interpretation to that instrument. It is an unne-cessary attempt to influence the public judgment, and such works of supererogation are best let alone. Any and all these reasons are a most ample justification for voting against even that which may seem to be right in the abstract; against even that which may seem to be right in the austral, for I would give no countenance to making a creed of avowals for politicians, and to the publication by the Senate of abstract opinions, merely because they may contain apparent truisms. They ought also to be useful, and put forth for some useful public purpose. The Senate would be foolishly employed to resolve that two added to two make

four.

But, sir, the leading reason urged for disposing of the whole abolition matter is, that the agitation of the topic dis-turbs the public harmony and endangers the Union. I am quite disposed to respect all such fears and apprehensions, when urged with seriousness, to listen to public sentiment, and to yield much to public judgment; and, sir, I am happy to perceive that the thought now and then flashes across the minds of gentlemen that there are two ends to this Union, both of which should fall under the protection and paternal regard of this Government. We are the represent tatives of the whole, and our affections and watchfulnes should be commensurate with the whole. It is our duty a see that the whole republic is safe. All interests must be regarded, all rights must be protected. We must look to public sentiment throughout. No interest, because it is great and powerful, should be permitted to absorb all public attention, or to cause a disregard of those of less importance. All must be nourished, all respected, the rights of all so adjusted and harmonized by a spirit of compromise and conciliation as to remove all just cause of discontent. This is the way to preserve the Union, And yet, from the course of argument here, one is sometimes doubtful whether more than one end of the Union is thought of, when all our visible and approach for the course of the Union is thought of, when all our visible and offential the course of the union is thought of the course of the union is thought of the course of the union is thought of the course of the c than one end of the Union is thought of, when all our vi-gilance, anxiety, and affection is demanded for that end alone. The resolutions before us propose no measures for the general harmony, but to give certain interpretations to the Constitution favorable to the slave interest. This is to avoid the dissolution of the Union. I cannot see how the end is to be reached by the means, and therefore am constrained

wrapped up in these resolutions.

Who is most likely to be discontented and to disturb public harmony—those that hold direction of political power, or those who have no power except the force of argu-

I wish to ask you, sir, what your recollections are in re gard to the history of public policy. You have probably for the last thirty years been a witness and participator in what has occured here, and your memory can go much be-Von know what has been the public feeling the subject of the integrity of the Union, and what kind a reputation those have acquired who have been suspected only of agitating this alarming topic. How stands the Hartonly of agitating this marining topic.
ford Convention in public estimation? How other conwere supposed to meditate unfriendly feelings to the Union? ility to the Union has at all times been viewed by the great body of the people with the most profound sorrow and regret. Those, therefore, who engage in such treason able purpose, do it at the imminent hazard of character, a least, for they acquire a very unenviable reputation.

The abolitionist can have no motive to dissolve the Union

They have never been charged with such an object, to my knowledge. Their acts may create alarm and discontent, which may tend to that. There may be selfish men among them, for the ambitious always mould the moving elements, when they can, to aid their own selfish purposes. It would not be singular if such were found among them, but their number cannot be great. But how is the abolitionist to be profited, if his wishes are all realized? If all the slaves of the globe wers made free, how will it mend his cond In no way whatever. He can gain nothing by the change. But they repudiate, and very properly, right to interfere with the States, and confine themselves the Territories and the District or Columbia. Their view are thus limited in extent, and to the attainment of an object in which they neither gave nor can have any interest which excites a selfish feeling, and which does not, in fact, touch

he Union, or threaten it.

The worst, then, which can be said of them, by their oitterest enemies, is what is actually said: they are deluded misguided philanthropists, fanatics—heated with an unbe-coming zeal. These, and such opprobrious epithets, have been-applied to them; but no one affirms that they aim at on, nor do I think any one can impute to them any corrupt purpose. I do not mean to touch the question of the expediency of their cours in asking for immediate abolition in this District. That I will meet whenever the Senate will open it by receiving their petitions, but not until then; for the right of petition is the higher right, and must first be vindicated. I shall, however, at all times go for the Union, and the whole Union; and against the abolitionists if they propose to interfere with constitutional rights or guarar

Union! There cannot, I trust, be such purpose here, for every day we hear the thought deprecated, and the deprecation mingled with the most ardent patriotic professi love and attachment to the Constitution.

Is the great slave interest to do it? I appeal again to your recollections, and to those of the Senator from South Carolina, and ask you whether an interest, so powerful as to have majorities in both Houses, and to maintain its ascendancy in majorities in both Houses, and to maintain its ascendancy in the Government, is likely to have occasion to secode from the Union through fear or oppression? Sir, this interest has ruled the destinies of the republic. For forty years out of forty-eight years it has given us a President from its own territory, and of its own selection. Ido not advert to this in the tone of complaint, for it has been done at the ballot box; but as a proof of its great strength, tact, and skill, and of the extraordinary predominance it holds over all other interests, bending and shaping them to its purposes. During all this time it has not only had a President sustaining its own peculiar views of public policy, but through him has held and used, in its own way, the whole organization of all the Departments, and all the vast and controlling patronage the Departments, and all the vast and controlling patronage incident to that office, to aid it and carry out its views and policy, as well as to protect it and secure to it every advan-

Let us explore a little further, sir, and see how the House Let us explore a little further, sir, and see how the Houses of Congress have been organized. I am sorry that I rely on memory alone, I may possibly fall into error, but I shall be, I think, right as far as I go; if not, the records can easily be had to correct me. For thirty years out of thirty-six years, that interest has placed its own Speaker in the Chair of the other House, thus securing the organization of committees, and the great influence of that station. And, sir, while all other interests have, during part of the time, had the Chair in which you preside assigned to them, as an equivalent for these great concessions, yet in each year, when a president protem. is elected, who upon the contingencies mentioned in the Constitution, will be the President of the United States, that interest has invariably given us this officer. Look, I beseech you, through all the places of honor, of profit, and privilegs, and there you will find the representatives of this interest in numbers that indicate it influence. Does not, then, this interest hold the destinies of this republic in its own hands? Does it not rule, guide, and sace. Does not the hands? Does it not rule, guide, and salapt public policy to its own views, and fit it to suit the action and products of its own labor? Sir, I know that the oliticians of the slave country sometimes disagree about ten and measures of minor consideration; but, on the great moves of slave labor and the protection of slave property)

they stand firmly together, and, like a Macedonian phalanx, shoulder to shoulder gather round it, and, by mighty and concerted efforts, give it the lead in public affairs against all opposition. Sir, how can I better explain its all-pervading influence than to declare again that it moves this Government over fifteen millions of souls, great and energetic as it is, and disproportionate as is the slaveholding population to that of the free States.

With this mighty power in your hands, with proof at every vote taken in this Capitol of your ability to continue it, can you of this interest entertain apprehensions for your safety? What more do you claim? What more can you have? How can those who hold power be oppressed by

have? How can those who hold power be oppressed by those who have none? How can those who hold the power of this Government fear it? I canot believe there is occasion in the mind of any one belonging to this interest for a dissolution of the Union, unless he be ambitious, unprincipled, and without hope of advancement. It will be reasonable enough to meet danger from other quarters when it threatens mischief. But, Mr. President, I must not omit some other proofs of the towering magnitude of the slave interest here. It claims to itself and its exertion whatever of merit there is in the overthrow of the policy of internal improve-ments, and of having broken down and rendered unpopular the policy of so assessing and collecting the public revenue as to protect and encourage free labor. Over this last great

interest it claims a signal triumph for having defeated it.

I need not multiply proofs of the zeal, activity, and sin gular success of those who manage this interest. The integrity of the Union is probably quite as important to the slave territory as to the free. I cannot, therefore, credit the suggestion that the people of the South are so blinded to their interests as to court so calamitous a result. What then is it that shakes this great republic so that it reels upon its foundations? So that we are brought to a solemn pause here in the public business, and are gravely and solemnly devising remedies to redeem us from threatened ruin? Sir, we have a set of resolutions, nearly concocted, that are to go forth with healing power to calm the public mind, to allay the outbreakings of fanaticism, and to tranquillize the raging elements. The opinion of the majority of the Senate is to work out this extraordinary result. But I again ask, what it is that we are contending with? What that threatens calamity; and is thus easily to be subdued? It is the abolitionists who come here in no very alarming numbers though the course pursued here has increased the aggregate, not to threaten the Government or to menace the Union, no, sir, not at all, but humbly to entreat and pray you it abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, where, I believe, there are about forty thousand people of all colors.— Sir, they have claimed nothing but the right to beg and pray of the Senate to use its power for this purpose?— What more humble and less objectionable right can be claimed by man than the right of respectfully entreating? Yet, sir, the exercise of this poor privilege, by persons mostly females too, has brought us into grave deliberation, to rescue the Union from impeding dissolution. Sir, I cannot parti-cipate in these fears, nor persuade myself that such causes will produce such results, or that the Union will be attacked

unless the provocation is given here.

These abolitionists are in the free States, It has often been said, and was a day or two past reiterated by the Sen ator from Missouri (Mr. Benton) that their books, papers prints &c. cannot enter the slave country, and therefor would do no harm there, even if the slaves could read, a they never can reach them. It seemed also to be admitte by the Senator from Virginia (Mr. RIVES) that there is no objection to the discussion of the subject in a State that permits it to be agitated. Where, then, is the alarming mischief? What creates the great excitment spoke of as existing in the slave territory, and which I doubt not does exist? The exciting matter is the debates published from this Capitol; the exaggerated and highly colored pictures of dangor drawn here. The evil is chargeable home here, and the responsibility rests here. The effect was clearly foreseen, and the result foretold. It is but the natural progress of events that the excitement of the People should re-act upon Congress; and I agree to the sentiment often expressed here, that this topic, agitated in this place in the manner it is, disturbs the public tranquillity, and the practice ought to subside unless the matter can be treated more temperately.— There would probably be no excitement among the slave-holders if it was not roused here, and there would be less here if the flame kindled elsewhere by the breath of these halls did

not impart its warmth to this body.

But, sir, I return to the inquiry, what is to be hoped from these resolutions? Where are their healing properties, their power to assuage resentments, and to allay irritated passions? Are we now agitating the matter to any useful purpose? I read them, and while a part of them seemed to me to contain certain doctrines on slavery according with the sentiments of the mover, the residue seemed to be a mere avowal of a politicial creed. Nor being quite certain that I was right in the matter, I was comforted when my friend from Delaware (Mr. BAYARD) rose and expressed the same sentiment. They professed to treat of abolition, but the worthy Senator declared that, on lifting the well, he had discovered nullification conscaled under the first of the series. He pointed the little fellow out to us hidden snugly under a

thin covering of State right gauze.

Now, sir, I ask the Senate to look at that resolution. I

"Resolved, That in the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the States adopting the same acted, severally as free independent, and sovereign States; and that each, for itself by its own voluntary assent, entered the Union with the view o its increased security against all dangers, domestic as well as foreign, and the more perfect and secure enjoyment of its advantages, natural, political, and social."

And to inquire whether it has any apparent connexion with the abolition of slavery. The mover has already been asked what he means by this resolution? How it is pertiasset what whether in the resolution? How it is pertu-nent or applicable to the matter in hand? What was his answer? Did he say it was to allay excitement, to suppress debate, or to check petitions? No, nothing of this—but he did, in substance, affirm that it was introduced as a sort of constitutional platform, upon which, as a newly discovered gather together and stand at this nomentous crisis. The Constitution itself, without Senatorial amendments, is broad enough and good enough for n to stand upon. Sir, there have been many platforms, creeds and confessions of faith, all of which are designed to tied down freedom of thought and action, and which in general I do not believe have subserved any valuable purposes .-They are designed to carry out particular doctrin Senator from Carolina avers in regard to his. He says it embraces tile doctrine of '98, and it is expedient occasion ally to reiterate fundamental principles. Magna Charta wa reaffirmed, and hence the propriety, even upon this occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the fundamentals of the doctrine of

What, sir, is the doctrine of '98? The Senator has had some bitter experience in this matter. He knows where it led him; he knows what results he has contended for under its authority, and he knows that many others, now on this floor, who claim to respect with equal deference the doctrine of '98, travelled paths widely divergent from his; paths so opposed that they led to sharp, bitter, and alarming conflict. This ought to teach the Senator not only the folly, but the danger of putting forth abstract theories upon the Consti But the Senator advances this theory because it contain

the only conservative principle—the only remedy for the slave States. And what is that conservative principle, and what the remedy? 'The Senator from Delaware, in giving a definition of the meaning of the resolution, solved, perhaps without designing it, this principle and remedy. The mov-er's view of State rights is, as I understood them, that the United States are confederated corporations; each a party to the Constitution in the nature of a treaty or confederation; and when this Government, or perhaps one of the States, in the judgment of a State, shall violate this compact, it may declare the whole contract void, because it has been broken, and cease to observe it with the same freedom and upon the and cease to observe it with the same freedom and upon the same principles that one nation declares a treaty null because the other party, in its opinion, has violated it. This must be the remedy—the right to secede from the Union when a State sees cause; and what is this but nullification? The resolution is capable of two constructions: one to bear out the Senator's view; the other the view of those who hold to a different construction of the Constitution, and still call themselves State rights politicians. But what advantage can there be in avowing an opinion that can only excite concan there be in avowing an opinion that can only excite con-troversy about its meaning. It is futile to attempt to make the Constitution broader or narrower, for we have no power to add or diminish. We may sanction puzzling theories about the probable intention of the United States, but the Constitution must and will speak for itself, be the opinions of this Senate what they may. The Public will look upon such acts as they are—unnecessary, and obligatory upon nobody, as mere attempts to give direction to the public lgment, Sir. I ask the Senator and the Senate to read the pream

ble to the Constitution, which I now bring to their attention "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tran-quility, provide for the common defence, promote the gener-al welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

And compare it with this first resolution; observe its unequivocal language, "we, the People," &c. instead of the States, as corporations, and see how they will stand together. But, sir, I will not dwell on this matter, which has been again and again argued by the best talent in the country.—I care not whether the Constitution was made by the States, as corporations, or otherwise; it makes no provision for nullification; gives no countenance to it, but leaves it to stand on such theories as human invention has brought to its aid. I am in no respect disposed to revere it, since it has met with single public condemnation, and therefore shall vote against all abstractions where its seed is sown. It is no part of my duty to sit here forming creeds and confessions of faith for the purpose of experimenting upon public opinion. The People, I hope, will think and act for themselves, and will be too wise to entangle their understandings in the meshes of policious.

point out the duties of the States towards regard to their domestic institutions, and the duty of this Government to protect each State in the enjoyment of all such domestic institutions, and to restrain such States as assail those of other States. This country stretches through a wide space of the earth—embraces twenty-six States—some almost under a vertical sun, while others are in the region of frost. Their domestic institutions, we all knew gion of frost. Their domestic institutions, we all know, must be various, and different under different circumstances. Those, for example, suited to Louisiana, will be ill fitted for Vermont. The views of different States upon the necessity, character, and expediency of domestic institutions will always conflict, and our organization was designed for that very purpose. The right of speech, the freedom of the press, the liberty of discussion are domestic institutions; and are we to be restrained in the exercise of any of these precious rights, because others differ from us in opinion, and may hold our reasoning against their institutions injurious. These matters all belong to the States: and it lies with them to regulate them at pleasure, and without reference to the to regulate them at pleasure, and without reference to the views or opinions of other States. If the design is to clothe his Government with power to abridge the privileges of the States, then the Senate can exercise no such authority, and

had better pause before it acts.

But, sir, I must bring my remarks to a close, as the state of my health will not permit me to proceed. I intended to have examined the character of these resolutions more in detail, and to state more fully my objections; but I must for-bear. I cannot, however, sit down, wihout asking the Senator from South Carolina again—why he incorporates political doctrines with this matter—why he mingles with slave-ry the annexation of Texas to the United States? He says ry the annexation of Texas to the United States! He says we must go back to elementary principles, to fundamentals. Go back from where, and what are we to go to! Sir, both you and the Senator participated, but with quite different sentiments, in that act of this Government sometimes called the Force bill; and each of you had your opinions upon that celebrated paper called the Proclamation. You were then arrayed against each other. The Senator is about to go back, and asks the Senators to go with him; and they do go with him, but where from, and where to? He cannot be going to the Force bill, or the Proclamation; and doubtless he considers the Senate as going from them, back to what I have endeavored to show the character of the first resolution, and the construction which may be put upon it. It may possibly be considered an attempt to renew a creed which the Force bill and the Proclamation had rendered of doubt-ful authority. For myself, I had little sympathy with those who so much lauded the Proclamation, or so much condem-ned the bill. The quarrel was between parts of the same ate to the use which I fear may be made in the country of this resolution, I shall not at this time proceed further.

Mr. WEBSTER expressed a hope that, as Mr. Davis

was now (from indisposition) too much exhausted to con ue his remarks, the Senate would adjourn. Mr. DAVIS replied that he should be glad to submit some further remarks, but could not proceed now, and would not

equest the Senate to stop the progress of business on tha Two divisions were then had on the adjournment who

he Senate refused to adjourn. Mr. DAVIS then resumed his seat.

[Mr. Calnoux replied to Mr. Davis at length, but want f room obliges us to omit his speech .- En. PHIL.] Mr. BAYARD moved to strike out the words "the 'se

Mr. BAYARD moved to strike out the words of the constitution itself, viz. "the people of the United States." His only object was to avoid a committal to a political creed, to which he could not consent. If Mr. C. would admit this slight change, Mr. B. would go with him.

Mr. CALHOUN objected, that those words were ambiguous; they might be taken in a geographical sense, meaning the inhabitants of the northern continent of America; or

they might mean the people, as a people; or they might mean the people only of the several separate states. The latter was the only sense he could admit, Mr. BAYARD urged that the very words of the consti tution, to which every senator had sworn, could not surely be objected. It appeared to him that Mr. C. was contend-

ing rather to put his own peculiar interpretation upon that instrument, rather than following the instrument itself, leaving the interpretation open. This he (Mr. Bayard) contended, ought to be done. Why, he asked, should Mr. Calhoun refuse to take the very words of the constitu Mr. CLAY, of Kentucky, said, if the senator from Dela ware would frame his amendment according to the historical fact, in the adoption of the constitution, Mr. Clay would

The historical fact was, that the constituti was adopted by the people of the several states, acting will in their respective limits,

Mr. CALHOUN—The Senator, to establish the views

of the other side, has selected a passage for his amendment which is their whole reliance. We rely on the historical fact; and the Senator from Delaware ought not to force his aterpretation on us.

Mr. BAYARD—The Senator is much mistaken if he

thinks our views are sustained only by the preamble (of the constitution.) The historical fact is, that it is the governthe words of the constitution, of It is so decided Marshall. When the preamble of the constitution was "We, the people of New Hampshire, Vermont," &c., the names of the several states were stricken out, and the existing expression inserted, in order to avoid all ambiguity. do not depend at all on the preamble, but on the discussion in the convention. I can demonstrate that it was regarded as a government emanating from the people as a and on this subject I shall be rea a lance with the Senator on any suitable occasion. If the Senator puts a different construction on these words, be it so: I do not want to express any particular opinion on that

Mr. Bayard's amendment was lost-Yays 8-Nays 34; nd the third resolution was adopted-Yeays 31-Nays 11.

- COMMUNICATIONS.

Clermont County Anti-Slavery Society. In pursuance of a public notice, this Society met in New Richmond on Friday the 5th of January, 1638, at 11 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose of holding its second anniversary meeting. The meeting was introduced by a discourse from the Rev. John Rankin, on the death of the Rev. E. P. Love-

oy, from these words:—"Yea, and all that will live godly n Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."—2 Tim. iii. 12. The Society, after a short recess, proceeded to business.

Or. John G. Rogers in the Chair, John Jolliffe, Esq. moved that a committee be appointed to nominate a Board of officers for the ensuing year: W. G. Gage, William S. Patterson and Samuel Jackson, were appointed said committee.

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. Weed, which, after some remarks from the mover in its support,

was adopted:

Resolved, That the present crisis demands on the part of bolitionists, increased zeal and consecration to the work of giving, petitioning, and circulating information, that we moreover pledge ourselves, lives, property and reputation to this cause, until slavery is driven from the land, and the

The committee to nominate officers, made the following eport:—For President, William Carnes, of New Rich-nond; Vice Presidents, Dr. S. G. Meek, of Goshen, Brice Mona; vice Fresidence, Dr. S. O. Meek, of Welliamsburgh, and Moses Larkin, of Felicity; Managers, Wm. S. Patter-son, Daniel Fee, David Jones, Thomas J. Morris, and Re-bert Galbreath; Treasurer, Andrew Coombs, jun.; Correspert Galbreath; Treasurer, Andrew Coombs, jun.; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. J. G. Rogers; Recording Secretary, John Jolliffe, Esq.—Mr. Jolliffe here desired to be released from the duty, as he had served the past year, and moved that W. G. Gage be appointed, which was agreed to; with this alteration, the report was adopted.

A recess was then taken until 6 in the evening, at which time the Saniette and the second services and the second services.

ime the Society again met.

The following resolutions were offered, and sustained by Messrs. Rankin, Weed, Parker, Jolliffe and Coombs.—
Resolved, That it is the highest importance to the cause of Liberty that the "Philanthropist" be sustained.
Resolved, That we pledge ourselves individually to obtain one or more subscribers to the 4Dkkl, at least 152. tain one or more subscribers to the "Philanthropist," and as many more as we can.

Resolved. That we hold the resolution passed by the

Resolved, That we hold the resolution passed by the House of Representatives of the U. S. on the right of petition, to be a violation of the Constitution of the U. States, and of the right of the People to petition that body, and ought to be rebuked by an indignant People.

Resolved, That we highly commend the stand takes by the Ohio Delegation in Congress on the right of petition, and that it is a source of unfeigned regret that one should be found (Wow. H. Hunter) as recreated to the cause of Lie-

be found (Wm. H. Hunter) so recreant to the cause of Liberty, and the State, as to submitt to slave-holding arre-

gancy.

Resolved, That the Anti-Slavery Society, by its efforts to emancipate the slaves—to elevate, educate, and christianize the People of color, affords the surest means, under God, to christianize the confinent of Africa.

Resolved, That the decision of Judge Reed, sustaining the kidnapping of Eliza Jane Johnson, from Brown co., O., and consigning her to perpetual slavery, is an indigatity offered to the State laws of Ohio, and one that demands the offered to the State laws of Ohio, and one that demands the immediate attention of the Governor and Legislature.

Resolved, That it is an outrage upon the humane feelings of the citizens of Ohio, that deserves the execution of all good men, and threatens to destroy every vestige of friendship existing between the States,

Resolved, That the tearing of this helpless woman from her husband, immuring her in pricen for months and entered

her husband, immuring her in prison for months, and con-signing her to slavery, is a harbarity that should make ever savages ashamed.

Resolved, That the heating Mr. Huggins, when in at

tendance on her trial, in Washington, Kentucky, was a deer worthy of legalized kidnap personly.

Reprolated, That we view with the utmost absorrants the

conduct of the mob at Alton, and regard all, without any conduct of the mob at Alton, and regard all, without any any exception whatever, who in any way participated in that affair, either as principal or accessary, as murderers of the basest character, and also guilty of the crime of treason, not only against the State of Illinois, but against the United States and the rights of man.

Resolved. That we deeply sympathise with Mrs. Loveloy in her bereavment, and pledge ourselves to contribute liberally to her support, if her circumstances are such as to make it necessary to do so.

Resolved, That the laws of Ohio that forbid white per sons from employing black, and mulattoes, as laborers except under certain liabilities, are unjust, oppressive, and tyrannical, as well upon the white as colored people of Ohio. Resolved, That the right of trial by jury is invaluab all cases, in which life or liberty is at stake, and that we cannot regard any representative as a friend to her institutions who is unwilling to extend it to all persons, and especially to those who are under oppression, and therefore most need its protection.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to draft memorials to the Governor and Legislature of this State, in the case of Eliza Jane Johnson, concurring with the petition of Brown county on the subject.—John Jolliffe, Esq., Dr. John G. Rogers, Rev. Daniel Parker, and W. G. Gage were appointed that Committee.

pointed that Committee.

Resolved, That immediate efforts be made to increase the

Resolved, That immediate entits of made to increase the funds of the Ghio State A. S. Society,

Resolved, Lastly, That the minutes of this meeting be sent to the 'Philanthropist' and papers of this County for On motion adjourned to meet on the 2d Fri day in April next at 11 o'clock A. M. in the town of Feli-

WM. CARNES, Pres't. W. G. GAGE, Rec. Sec.

January 10, 1838. Camdem Anti-Slavery Society.

At the annual meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Cam At the annual meeting of the Anti-States, Society and church, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, with reference to the calamitous event at Alton, Ill., in the case of Rev. E. P. Lovejoy.

Preamble.—In view of the facts before the public in re-

gard to the murder of Rev. E. P. Lovejoy, and deem it the duty of every American citizen, promptly and fully to express his opinions of an event so ominous of evil to American liberty. Therefore,

1. Resolved, That we believe Rev. E. P. Lovejoy to have

fallen a martyr in defence of the liberties purchased for us by the blood of our fathers,—of the inalienable rights given us by the God of our fathers.

2. Resolved, That the Patriot Lovejoy fallen, deserves to be placed by the side of the heroes of Bunker-hill, in the re-

membrance of Americans.

3. Resolved, That in our calm and deliberate conviction. we regard the mob at Alton as murderers and traitors; utterly unworthy the name of American citizens; a disgrace

to every civilized community.

4. Resolved, That we regard the people of Alton who did not interfere to protect the rights and lives of the martyred Lovejoy, and especially the civil authorities, as guilty of a crime scarce a shade lighter than than of the active participators in the mob: and that nothing but the infliction of the full penalty of the law upon the wretches now at large in their city, can restore them to their standing as true Ame-

5. Resolved. That the clerk be directed to forward a copy of the above resolutions to the 'Philanthropist' for publica MM. M'MECHAN, Clerk. Camden, January 16, 1836.

We would just notice in addition to the above, for the en couragement of the friends of the cause, that after an interesting address delivered by Rev. E. P. Thomas, of Harriston son, an addition was made to our Society of near forty members, making the whole number ninety-three.

Extract of Letter from Rev. E. Weed.

Batavia, Jan. 17, 1839. Dear Friend,—Our cause is rapidly gaining ground. The murder of Lovejoy, the gag-resolution in the House of Representatives, and the passage of Calhoun's resolutions in the Senate, are doing the work. These are such open, bare-faced attacks upon the dearest rights of Americans, all thinking men at least are alarmed. They begin to perceive what abolitionists have declared from the beginning, that slavery wages an unceasing war not only against the black man's rights, but against universal rights. Wherever I go, I find it the topic of discussion. Men, who a few months ince, could not be induced to converse, hear, or read upo the su' ject, are now ready to do all. Our Representatives who have recklessly trampled upon the most sacred guarantees of the Constitution, will find the day of reckoning at hand. The yeomanry of the country are awaking and coming to the rescue. The violence of the slave-holders in Congress, thoir gasconading, and attacks upon the liberty of speech and the right of petition, are disgusting all minds and concentrating and giving intensity to that innate hostility to slavery so generally felt by the freemen of the North. Nosmothered this feeling, and prevented its free exression, but the vulgar prejudice against the colored man.

This barrier is giving way. The old cry of amalgamation ceases to produce its wonted effect. Prejudice and avarice have rung this bell till it is cracked; and that other popular alarm bell, the cry of the dissolution of the Union, has lost its charm. The people are beginning to see, that under the show of patriotism, there is a conspiracy to deprive them of their liberties. There is no doubt a general and ardent attachment emong our citizens to the Union, but even that can be held at too high a price. If to secure the Union, it is required of them to put the padlock on their own lips and bow submissively to southern dictation, their reply will be heard from Maine to Illinois like the voice of many waters;

No! we cannot, we will not be slaves.

I lectured the last two evenings here in the Presbyterian meeting-house to respectable and very attentive audiences. Not a lisp of disturbance. Obtained a pledge to the State Society of \$38 50, \$14 50 of which was paid down, and 4 new subscribers to the Philanthropist.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI: Tuesday Morning, January 30, 1838.

MISTAKE CORRECTED .- In an article two weeks since, entitled the "Ohio Press," we said the Ohio Atlas was published at Ohio city. This was a slip of the pen .-We have not been so inattentive to this excellent paper as to overlook the place of its publication. The Ohio Argus is published at Ohio city-the Ohio Atlas at Elyria; but in the hurry of writing, the names of the two papers must have

Mr. Chase's argument on our first page is a very interesting and conclusive one. It is of special interest at this time, when the General Assembly is about to be agitated with the subject of the colored man's rights.

or Mr. Wade's report is full of truth, fearless, and spiri ed. The appended resolutions are strong ones. We recommend it to the attention of our readers.

That week we were obliged to omit the articles "Wythe." The second and third numbers are published in to-day's paper; and next week the fourth will be inserted. We continue the report of the debate in the Senate. It will be seen that Mr. Davis, of Mass., acquitted himself nobly.

TIt is with pleasure we announce, that the friends of the cause have begun to respond to our call for funds, and to exert themselves vigorously in behalf of the paper. We say this, not to abate, but to increase effort. Let the fact that some are doing well, stimulate others to well-doing. If all our subscribers would act with proper spirit, we know that our subscription-list could be doubled.

The young men of New York opposed to Patton's lution, were to meet, without distinction of party, at Clinton Hall, on the 22d inst. The call was signed by 120 names. The N. Y. American says,-

"A single glance at the names will show that party has no part in this call. Let it be enthusiastically answered, a becomes the generosity, and concerns the future, of youth."

On the Advance.

It will be perceived, on reference to the proceedings the Senate of this state, Jan. 22d, that a large majority of that body is in favor of receiving petitions from colored people, and—of laying them at once on the table,—a mock-recognition of the right of petition. Nathless, we are pleased that public sentiment has extorted from them even this much. Last year they did not do half so well. Mr. Smith's report of what was done the preceding session, is anot explicit enough. Dr. Price at that time presented a memorial from the colored people of Cincinnati. The Speaker said, as he did not understand that this class of persons had any right of petition by the constitution, he would take the sense of the Senate on the question.

"The whole body of Negroes on a plantation must be reduced to a deplorable state of wretchedness, if at any time they suffer their aged companions to want the common necessaries of life, or even its comforts as far as they can procure them. They seem to be actuated on those occasions by a kind of involuntary impulse, operating as a primitive law courts no observation or looks for no applause. (Note, The greatest affront, says Mr. Long of Jamaica, that can be offered a Negro, is to curse his father or mother or any of his progenitors.") Vol. II. p. 77.

"The Negroes are strongly attached to their acquainty weep." sense of the Senate on the question. A motion was made to receive the petition, which occasioned considerable debate, and was heally ledd on the rable. Of course, the Source, by

this indirect procedure, refused to receive the petition This year, a similar petition is formally received by a vote of 19 to 12! So much gain! Next year, what? a reference? Very likely.

The Senate is not quite so mad as the House. A "free overeign, independent state," stands a little better chance utions were received by the Senate, but the resolutions of he legislature of Massachusetts met the same fate in the fouse as the vulgar herd of memorials, petitions, &c.,they were lynched. Jan. 3d, Mr. Cushing moved that ertain resolutions of the Massachusetts legislature, formerv presented by him, be taken from the table and referred to select committee. After discussion, conversation, &c., the Speaker decided that the resolutions must lie on the table under the rule of the 21st December! We shall see what the old Bay state will have to say to this.

A disgraceful quarrel took place in the house on the 17th. between Wise, of Virginia, and Gholson, of Mississippi .-The following brief dialogue gives the pith of it:

Mr. Gholson-"The remarks of the member are unworthy of the gentleman from Virginia, and a membe his house."
Mr. Wise—"If impudence and ignorance will make

blackguard, there is one"—(turning round and pointing towards Mr. Gholson, who sat just behind him.) Mr. Gholson—"None but a scoundrel would make use of such an expression.

This is the sort of chivalry which proves so delightful to our Washington letter-writers. The House was engaged for the afternoon and a part of next day in the noble employment of settling the quarrel between the two refined ladiators-discussing the propriety of passing a resolution hat they should not shoot each other out of doors! Ridiculous! Such game-cock chiva'ry should be confined to the grog-shop.

Western Pioneer.

The editor of this paper commenting on the Philanthro oist and its editor with more harshness than discretion

"Of Mr. Long he says, he is one of the Elders of the resbyterian church in Upper Alton, who informed Mr. Lovejoy two months since, that he could not be permitted to preach on the following text,-topen thy mouth, judge rightously, and plead the cause of the poor and the needy.'-This is the second time the editor of the Philanthropist has old this story, which is an entire perversion of facts"and when called upon by the individual whose conduct he has thus misrepresented, he has declined to give up his zuthor."

The editor of the Philanthropist has not "misrepresented" Mr. Long, or "perverted facts." Mr. Long may ascertain who was the author of the "story," by inquiring of the Rev Γ. B. Huriburt, his fellow-townsman.

As regards Mr. Long, we rejoice most sincerely to re-pub ish from the Pioneer what must demonstrate his noble atachment to the cause of order and free principles. "He was a friend to the unfortunate Lovejoy, and in per

on was one to defend his press, in the last extremity on the fatal night;"-And may God bless him for it! As to the course of the Pioneer, we still hold that it wa

all wrong and we trust its editors may live long enough to be convinced of it.

PETITIONS-CAUTION!-There is an inaccuracy in the copy of the resolution of Dec. 21st, contained in the printed forms of petitions recently sent from the Anti-Slavery office. Phose who have them in charge should make the correction before sending them in, otherwise they will be petitioning for the repeal of a vote which was never passed. The fol-lowing is the exact form of the resolution, as certified by the clerk of the House of Representatives:

ing the abolition of Slavery, or the buying, selling, or transferring of slaves, in any State, District, or Territory of the United States, be laid upon the table without being the states. United States, be laid upon the table without being debated printed, read or referred, and that no further action whatever It should be addressed to the House of Representatives

and not to Congress, as Congress have nothing to do with

[For the Philanthropist.] Can Slaves if Emancipated take Care of Them-

mons, of Planters from the West Indies, some very important facts were brought to light. Lord Howich, in one of his speeches on the Apprentice ship System, read the following extract from "Notices of maica," by Mr. Matthison, for many years a planter

In the examination before the British House of Com-

that Island. "As soon as a Negro is established on a plantation, he is urnished with a lot of land, and after a certain time, is expected to subsist himself and family by his own exertions This rule is laid down for males and females. If it should happen, that through idleness, or sickness, or old age, or in consequence of too numerous a family of children, the provision grounds should be neglected, or become unproductive or insufficient, the Negro is not allowed to expect, nor in point of fact does he obtain assistance from the stores of the plan

"I state it broadly, that such is the general fact from one end of the Island to the other. In case of need bothers as sist their sisters, uncles assist their nieces, and children main

In a work entitled "Mitigation of Slavery," by Wm. Dickson, L. L. D., on the 485 page you will find the fol-

"Slaves in the West Indies, in point of subsistence, are required and in most cases left to take care of themselves. Analysis of a Report of a Committee of the House of Commons on the Extinction of Slavery. Extract from the

evidence of W. Taylor, Esq.
Mr. Taylor, in reply to another series of questions stated 25, "That the law allows 26 days in a year, exclusive of Sundays and the usual (3) holidays for his provision grounds And by this allowance of time, together with his Sundays the Jamaica Negro maintains himself and family." Extract from the evidence of Millshin Stanton Austin

Esq. "There would be no danger of either the young or the become confounded in our mind, and thus have caused the old slaves suffering from want with their fellows around mistake. Extract from a Speech of Mr. Stanly in the British

House of Commons.
"Now the usual allowance of clothing as deduced by the colonists themselves, either from the oral testimony of plan-ters or from official documents, cannot exceed from 25 to 30 shillings a year-and a quarter barrel of herrings annually allowed them, rather as searing of food than as food may be of the value of 10 or 12 shillings more. As for their food it is raised in most cases entirely by themselves, Twenty-six days in the year only, besides Sandays, being allotted to them for that purpose; and the Sundays being ne cessarily employed either in going to market, or in such fur-ther labor, in addition to their 26 days, as might be required to raise the food necessary, not only for their own support but for that of their families, their children and their infirm

and dependent relations,
"The witnesses we would adduce to prove these facts ar the planters themselves.—Such men for example as Mr. Andrew Colville, and the other planters who were examined during the slavery enquiry of last session.

Many people think that the slaves if set free would flood the free states. If they were gradually emancipated they might, for the laws of the slave states would drive them out: but if they were all emancipated at once they would remain at home. We judge so from the various facts which have ome under our observation, from their domesticism, or wilingness to abide at home, then their strong social feelings which would keep them where their friends and kindred are The following may throw some light on the subject: Extract from the Evidence of W. Taylor, Esq., before the

British House of Commons. Page 24.

"Mr. Taylor had no fears whatever that the slaves, it emancipated, would become unsettled or turn vagrants. They will never murder or runaway but from very bad treatnt. For he never saw any disposition in the Negro mind

to vagrancy. Bryant Edwards, who was a large slave-holder, wrote th story of the West Indies. The following is an extract

"The whole body of Negroes on a plantation must be re

"The Negroes are strongly attached to their countrymen but above all, to such of their companions are care over will but above all, to such of their companions as came over with them in the same ship from Africa. This is a striking circumstance. The term shipmete is understood senong

Extract of a Report of a Committee before the House

Commons, p. 39.
Rev. John Barry, Wesleyan Methodist missionary says: "The Negroes are remarkable for their social and domes-ic affections. He never knew more dutiful and obedient children. They are exceedingly attached to their parents, and will do all in their power to promote their comfo

Evidence of W. S. Austin, Esq. Ibid. p. 79. "Mr. Austin declared that he had never seen r ction more strongly exhibited than among the slaves."

There is no doubt in my mind but that we are doing ou

elves, as well as the Negroes, a great injury by our unequa selves, as well as the regroes, a great mary by our anequal laws. True policy would require us to encourage them to settle in our State, so long as we need laborers, more than we can get; we cannot be supplied with any who will be less likely to work mischief to individuals or the State. If the Negro character had been thoroughly understood, these "black laws" of ours would never have disgraced our statute

[For the Philanthropist.]

On the Side of the Oppressor there is Power. Columbus, Jan. 16. "A Negro has a soul, 'an please your honor," said th

"I am not much versed, Corporal," quoth my Uncle Toby
"I am not much versed, Corporal," quoth my Uncle Toby
"in things of that kind; but I suppose God would not leave
him without one any more than me or thee."

"It would be putting one sadly over the head of the other, oth the Corporal.
"It would so," said my Uncle Toby. "Why then, an' please your honor; is a black man to

"I can give no reason," said my Uncle Toby.

"Only," cried the Corporal, shaking his head, "becan nas no one to stand up for him." "It is that very thing," quoth my uncle Toby, "which r

ommends him to protection. This passage was brought forcibly to my mind by an oc currence which has just happened. Two colored men came here last week from Indiana, to procure work. They so their horses at auction, and had found places to labor, as am told. On Saturday night three ruffians decoyed then out of town and robbed them of all their money, pre tending that they were officers, and were going with them to a justice's office to examine them as ru They went with them about three miles into a lonely par and then robbed them and left them. Their confession o different individuals, and the money found on then being identified by the individuals who paid it to the lored men, made the evidence sufficiently clear in my opinion, to convict them. The trial was held in the cour house before the mayor and two justices. The criminal were bound over to the Court of Common Pleas under \$500 bond. Had these men been white instead of black the coun try would have rung with the "horrid outrage."

Lord Brougham and the Apprenticeship System We learn from the London Patriot, lately received at ou ffice, that Lord Brougham, on Nov. 23, brought the subject of the Apprenticeship System before the House of Lord In presenting a petition for the immediate abolition of the system, he alluded to Antigua as an island in which the experiment of total and immediate abolition had been tried. On the 1st of Aug. the Legislature had absolutely and entirely struck the fetters off from 40,000 slaves.—En. Pair.

"Their lordships would naturally ask whether the expernent had succeeded, and whether this sudden emancipatio had been wisely and politically done. He should move for some returns, which he would venture to say would provide the say would be say w that the experiment had entirely succeeded. He would giv their lordships some proofs. First, property in that island had risen in value; secondly, with very few exceptions, and those of not greater importance than occurred in England uring harvest, there was no deficiency in the number porers to be obtained, when laborers were wanted; thirdly offences of all sorts, from capital offences downwards, had ecreased-and this appeared from returns sent by the in pectors of slaves to the governor of that colony, and by hi transmitted to the proper authority here; and, fourthly, the exports of sugar had increased. During the three years ling 1834, the average yearly export was 165,000 cwts and for the three subsequent years, this average had increased to 189,000 cwts, being an increase of 24,000 cwts, clear seventh, produced by free labor, as compared with slave labor. Nor were the last three years productive sea ons, for in 1835 there was a very severe and destructive that water was obliged to be imported from Barbadoes. He hoped, therefore, that other colonies would be compelled to follow the example so successfully and voluntarily set to them by the colony of Antigua."

[For the Philanthropist.] Letter from Columbus-An Interesting Debate.

Columbus, Jan. 22d. Monday has been an interesting day in the Senate. Near ly the whole time has been occupied in discussing the right of petition. The debate was warm, animated and instructive. The members showed their knowledge and their feelings on the subject of Human Rights. They were advo angs on the subject of human Rights. They were advo-cated and opposed with spirit. Mr. Green, a Virginia law-yer, raised his southern blood. Mr. Wade, a Massachusettu lawyer, got his Bunker-hill up. They fired hot shot for a while, till finally Green surrendered, not to Wade, as he said out to the Senate. I will give you a little sketch of the de-bate, though I shall not be able to put the fire in it, nor the eculiarities, neither do I wish to. It was called up by ectition presented by Mr. Wade. It will be necessary ark one thing, viz. The intelligence which our legislator lings with regard to these rights. Let it also be under stood by the people, that a man who will break into the sanctuary of Human Rights, because his victim is obnoxious, will, when a fit opportunity offers, make the same sa-crilegious assault upon us when we become the victims of proscription, or of hatred or of prejudice. Our only safety, as a government, is in the purity of our principles. Let us then weigh well the words of our Statesmen.

Mr. WADE presented a petition from Citizens of Ash abula Co., praying the Legislature to protest against Mr. Patton's gag-resolution, &c., and requested that it might b

referred to a select committee of three.

Mr. FULLER moved to refer it to the Judiciary. Mr. STARKWEATHER objected.
Mr. GREEN moved to lay the petition on the table. as an exciting subject. It had well nigh destroyed the Inion. But happily the subject was now at rest in Con He hoped this Legislature would do nothing to agi ate it there again. What do the petitioners want? resentatives have voted, with the exception of 1 or 2. ust as the petitioners desire,-just as we should instruc them. I hope, sir, this petition will be laid on the table and the subject to rest. It is too exciting,—too deeply freighted with weal or wo to our country to be needless agitated. Who can bear to think of our country as br ten into factions and divided in its government. I, for one amnot. Who, sir, can contemplate the precipice from which it has just escaped, without thankfulness of heart!
When the news came first from Washington of the position of things there on this question, I was more deeply agitated han I have ever before been. And the twenty-four hours tween the arrival of the first news on the subject, and ts final disposition, was to me the most painfully anxious that I ever experienced. I hope the petition will be laid on

Mr. WADE replied that the news of the gentleman were not very strong. That he for one did not feel greatly agi tated on the subject. He had got used to Southern bluster ngs, and he did not think it scared his constituents much They had presented a very respectful petition here; and now what is to be done with it? The gentleman says, lay it on he table. This, sir, is just what they have done in Congress. They have trampled on the right of petition. And by their blustering and bullying, and threats of dissolving he Union, have succeeded in scaring northern men into a equiescence in their demands. The merits of the petitio are not now open for discussion: and, sir, the right of peti-tion I scorn to debate. The people of Ohio have sent a pe-tition to their Legislature. I demand for it a respectful reference and consideration. I care not whether it goes to the Judiciary, to a select, or to some other committee. But to a committee it must go. The people have the right, and if needs be, they will enforce it at the point of the bayonet. They ask no favors in this matter. The right of petition stands above and out of the reach of all constitutions, all ws, all legislation. [Here Mr. M'Laughlin, Mr. King, Mr. pangler and Mr. Green rose and made a few remarks.]

Mr. GREEN said he did not wish to invade the right of on, and would withdraw his motion; but he did not want to give up the subject,
[Mr. Green is from Pickaway co., warm-hearted and en-

[Mr. Green is from Pickaway co., warm-hearted and enthusiastic and interesting as a speaker. His early associations of slavery would of course blunt his sensibilities on the subject of human rights. What is a little remarkable, that Mr. JAMES, of Champaign co., a Virginian also, should claim to be the coolest man on the subject of slavery and abolition in the whole Senate. And I think his claim a just one. He made a short, cool speech.] Said he,

Mr. Speaker, I can see no reason for such undue warmth on this subject. We have nothing to complain of—the people of the North have nothing to do with slavery; therefore I do not know why they should be excited. Neither do I know why the South should be excited. Unless it is as the gentleman from Geauga says, and I am inclined to think it is so, that the southerners are given to bullying, and being s so, that the southerners are given to bullying, and being encouraged in it by their success, continue to keep it up in order to carry their measures. Their cry of disunion does not affect upon at all. I lisse no dread on the subject. They

as signifying a relationship of the most endearing nature.

Perhaps as recalling the time when the sufferers were cut off together from their common country and kindred, and awakening reciprocal sympathy from the remembrance of mutual affliction." Bryant Edwards' History of the West Indies, vol. ii. p. 73.

will never dissolve the Union. They have no right to do it. They have too much interest in it. They can now go into any state and recapture their fugitive slaves. If they should secéde, their slaves would all runaway and they never could reclaim them. Also, the abolitionists might as well stop, for slavery will run out of itself in a few years. Slave labor will come less and less valuable every year, and the decided speriority of free labor will be more and more apparent till the masters will be glad to manumit the slaves to save their roperty. [Mr. Vance, Mr. Walter, Hawkins and Mr. Moris added a few remrrks, when the petition was referred to a elect committee of three, Mr. Wade chairman.] Mr. KING then presented a petition from the colored pee

ple of Cincinnati.

Mr. JAMES said he did not feel disposed to receive petitions from these people on the subject of our laws. Their residence in this State was only tolerated. They had no constitutional right to petition. It can only be presented on leave of the Senate. It was contended last year that the blacks had a right to petition, but they have no such right. If the petition be received, it is only as a favor not as a

right.
Mr. VINCENT of Harrison co., formerly of Ireland, hoped their petition would not be received. It was unco stitutional, &c.

Mr. WADE, from Ashtabula co., brings with him a the old Revolutionary spirit. His feelings on the subject of human right are exceedingly sensitive. He possesses the old fashioned liberty notions. Without regard to popularity, old fashioned liberty notions. Without regard to popularity he speaks freely and fearlessly the true sentiments of free nen. In answer to those who opposed the reception of th

I hope this petition will be received and appropriately referred. Gentleman say it is unconstitutional. I hope they will point out the article of the Constitution which it vio lates. I contend, sir, that the right of petition is inheren in man—that it is natural to him. And I believe I am cor rect when I say, it is natural to animals. ["He hears the ravens when they."] Our Maker hears prayer, and shall we put ourselves up to be greater than the Almighty. When the poor suffer at our hands shall we not listen to their pray-er for relief? Every feeling of honor, justice and mercy inswer, yes. I hope we shall not disgrace ourselves by re

fusing to receive this petition.

Mr. MORRIS said, we tax colored people, and they are ubject to our laws, consequently they have a right to peti ion. Mr. JAMES said, there seemed to be two things asked

for in the petition, one of which they had a right to ask and the other they had not. They first ask for a repeal of our laws which discriminate

between men on account of their colos. This, sir, they have no right to ask, I never will consent to receive their petition. I care not what answer might be given. Their resence is only tolerated here,—they have come in contra tion of our laws. We do not desire their presence. But they come they must abide by our laws as they find iem.
In the second place, they ask to be freed from taxation

This I consider a proper petition. I do think it is unfair tax them so long as they have no benefit of the tax, The SPEAKER, (Judge Smith of Warren co.) then took the floor. He made a few very handsome remarks on the right of petition, its extent, general application, &c., and hoped the petition would be received. This subject came up last year, on the presentation of a similar petition by the Senator from Hamilton county. It had then, from some cause which he did not fully recollect, been laid on the table, and not acted upon. There was a difference between receiving and granting. He would always receive such petitions, but the propriety of granting their prayers was a different matter entirely. Even denying to colored persons the constitutional right to petition, would it not be expedient to receive their petitions? Aliens had no more a constitutional right than blacks and mulattoes; yet who would reject a petition from them, if couched in proper and decorous language? He regarded the two classes of persons as standing in respect to this matter upon the same ground. But the constitutional question aside: he thought as had been said,

that the right to petition was a natural right—above consti-tution, and above laws. He should therefore vote for the sception of the present paper; but in doing so he did in n nunner commit himself as to the granting of its prayer. Mr. VANCE, of Butler co., said he had no objection to eccive the petition, if they did not demand it as a right. If the gentleman asks leave to present this petition as a favor why very well. They are not citizens, and none but citizen have a right to petition for the alteration of laws None but the parties to the constitution and laws have a right to petition for their repeal, or what is the same thing, instruct their representatives to repeal them. Have Negroes my rights here! Have aliens any rights? Are they parties

o the constitution?—are they voters?

Mr. WADE said if the argument of the gentleman proved ny thing, it proved too much. It proved that women and youth had not a right to petition, and that nine-tenths of all the people born in Ohio are aliens. He sets himself up to judge whether these people ask for what they desire or not. I, sir, put their right of petition on the same ground as the right of self-defence. Suppose the Constitution should say that we had not this right, would that deprive us of it? Sup pose we should say, by statute, that the Negro should not exercise this right, would they, therefore, not be justified in

nake wrong right and right wrong?
Mr. STOKELEY said it was a principle which was re ognized, he believed, in all governments, that every person the was subject to the action of laws, had the right to per tion for redress of grievances. He regretted to behold an exhibition of so much *feeling* as he had just seen. He verily believed there was more excitement here than at the ath-for he well recollected having seen, in the proceedings of some of the Legislatures of the Southern States, no tices of the reception of petitions from colored persons, and

also the action upon such petitions.

Judge KING said, Mr. Speaker, the question under debate is, whether the Senate of Ohio will receive a petition signed by a portion of the people of the State, praying the dification of certain laws which bear op upon them as a distinct class of the community, by exduding them from testifying in courts of justice, and creating I had always supposed that the right of petitioning and of petitioning and praying for relief under any affliction, was the privilege of every human being. That it was extended to all subjects under the most despotic governments, and that ven the vilest criminal under sentence of execution was not denied the poor consolation of suing for mercy or a mitiga-tion of his punishment at the hands of those who had the power to pardon and forgive. That it resulted from the reations subsisting between the ruler and the ruled,-the every person who was the subject of legislation, and amenable to law, might humbly ask for redress if injustice had been done, and respectfully set forth the reasons why it should be extended to him. Whether the prayer of the petitioners should be granted, or whether there are any just auses of complaint, requiring a modification of our laws, is not now the inquiry,—it is simply to determine whethe we will receive a petition couched in respectful language and signed by that class of our population who are the spicial subjects of these laws. It has been stated in this deba that this class of people have no rights under our Constitu-tion—that it was made exclusively for the white people—that it was the intention of its framers to exclude them from ou erritory—that before our government was organized into a state, slavery was prohibited within in its jurisdiction by an act of Congress, that their existence amongst us is an act of toleration on our part, and that so long as they remain here they must rest contented under our laws, however oppressive they may be. Let us examine for a moment these allegitions and ascertain their foundation. It is true that Cor gress inhibited slavery in the North Western Territory before the organization of the State. But does it follow from that fact that they were to be excluded from a residence here? Is it contended that the prohibition of slavery in a territory is to exclude persons of color from residing in it? Will i be said that these people can only reside where that system is authorized by law? If there be any force in the argumen such is its result. But it is said that these laws were create within a few years after the Constitution was adopted, and have been in force ever since, and therefore they have no

right to complain.

It is conceded that some of these laws were passed so after, and others not until twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution; but so far from being in force since that period, their most prominent features and provisions have never been enforced, but have remained a dead letter upon our statute book because public opinion would not sanction their enforcement, and gentlemen now tell us they would not vote for the passage of such laws, because of their ob-

noxious provisions they will not vote for their repeal.

By referring to the journal of the Convention which stitution, and to that instrument itself, we hall find how far the positions assumed are sustained by the action of that body.

Under the Territorial government, the colored populat vere allowed the right of suffrage, and in the Cor uestion of continuing that right to them under the state go ernment, was first decided in their favor by a vote of 19 to 15, and was subsequently reversed by the casting vote of the President on a tie of all the members. The question of ex-President on a tie of all the memoers. In equestion of ex-cluding them from giving testimony in courts of justice against a white person, was also raised in the Convention, and after due deliberation it was decided by a recorded vote that such a restriction should not be incorporated into the

Thus it will be seen that the rights of this class of people underwent the supervision of the framers of our Constitu-tion, and such restrictions were placed upon them as they deemed advisable. They were deprived of the right of suf-frage and prevented from holding office. So far as the Constitution has laid these restrictions upon them, there hav been no efforts made to avoid them, but where the question was raised in the Convention on further abridging their pri-vileges, and decided in their favor; the justice and propriety of a law contravening that decision may well be questioned,

strument, which was accepted by the people, declaring "That to guard against the transgressions of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare that all powers not hereby delegated, remain with the people." Without entering into a discussion of the merits of the petition, or the cause of the omplaints, on the present motion I have only replied emarks which have been made by others.

The petition was received by a vote of 19 to 12.

Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Nathan S. Bemis, Jacob Forwood, Edward Prigg, and tephen Lewis, citizens of Maryland, guilty of violating the aws of Pennsylvania, by kidnapping, and carrying to Maryand certain colored persons whom they alleged to be slaves, were some time ago demanded as fugitives from justice, by the executive of Pennsylvania. The governor of Maryand, on whom the demand was made, communicated the circumstance in his message to the house of delegates, who appointed a special committee to report thereon. The following is an extract from the report, which, with the ac ompaning resolution, was adopted by a vote of 50 to 4.

"Your committee further report that the citizens so de nanded have been agreed to be surrendered by his excellency the governor of Maryland, and authority for their arreat and removal to Pennsylvania for trial, forwarded by him on the 27th day of November last, to the agent of Pennsylvania, but that the warrant so issued has not yet be

That the governor of Maryland, before agreeing to sur-render the said citizens, consulted the attorney-general of this state, whose writen opinions he required on that sub-ject; and that the attorney-general was of opinion and so advised his excellency, that he was bound under the federal constitution to render the persons demanded. That the executive of Maryland then despatched a deputation to the executive of Pennsylvania in order to induce him, if pos-sible, to withdraw the demand, and that the mission was attended with no other success than delay until the result of the trials of the petitioners in Harford county court for freedom should be known; and that the demand not having been withdrawn, the governor has felt himself constrained to comply therewith and order the arrest and delivery over of the citizens demanded.

of the citizens demanded.

Your committee view the principle involved in the case, of the utmost importance to the interests of Maryland, and are of opinion, if yielded to, will to a great and injurious extent admit the power of the non-slaveholding states in effect to nullify that article of the federal constitution which recognizes the relation of master and slave, and guarantees the right of property in persons held to service. They are the right of property in persons held to service. They are also unable to perceive any moral, or even legal guilt in the citizens, demanded in the capture and bringing away their slaves. Your committee are not yet prepared to report the legislative enactments proper to be adopted by Maryland upon this all important subject. They are of opinion however that conciliatory measures should be first resorted to, and with this view your committee respectfully submit ollowing message to the senate:

We propose with the concurrence of your honorable body, to appoint a deputation from the legislature of Maryland, to the legislature of Pennsylvania to consist of three members, whose duty it shall be immediately to proceed to Harrisburg, and confer with the legislature now in session at that place, and demand from them the dismissal of the indictments now pending in York county court against Nathan S. Bemis, Jacob Forward, Edward Prigg, and Stethen Lewis, citizens of Maryland, for the alleged crime o tidnapping; and such modification of the laws of that state relating to negroes as will effectually recognize the right of he master to arrest and bring away his absconding slave and we have appointed Messrs.

to join such gentlemen as may be nar by your honorable body to constitute such deputation. All which is most respectfully submitted,
"I. D. MAULSBY, Chairman."

We learn from the Baltimore Gazette, that Messrs, Maulsy and Alexander (of the House) constitute the committee ogether with a member of the Senate, to proceed to Harris burg. And the committee are to demand of the sovereign state of Pennsylvania, that she set aside her own laws for the special benefit of kidnappers. The Senate have resolved that we, citizens of the free states have no right to intermeddle in any manner whatever with slavery in the slave states; but the citizens of these states have a perfect right to intermeddle with our concerns, so far as to DEMAND a repeal of laws considered by them a grievance!

Ohio and Kentucky.

January 19. The Speaker laid before the house the following lication from the Governor:—
To the General Assembly of Ohio—

I send you herewith a petition of a number of females of Fayette county, in this state, alledging that a colored female has been forcibly seized in this state, and taken to the state

This case, as represented, is one of cruelty and injustice nd I cannot hesitate for one moment in believing, that upon proper representation from you, the legislature of Kei ucky would modify their laws in regard to those who a apprehended in this state and committed as fugitives from abor, but never proven to be such, so as make them more onsonant to the dictates both of justice and humanity. Having no power to act in the case presented by the petioners, I submit the subject for your consideration.

Motions were made to lay these documents on the table,

nd to refer them to the judiciary committee.

Mr. Foot, in relation to this motion, said he was in favor of laying the communication upon the table, in order that the governor's suggestions might be printed and spread upon tables. He was pleased with the sentiments it tained. He also wanted time to consider what legislation the subject required. It was very evident to his mind, that if the laws were so that persons living under the protection of them, and guilty of no crime, could, without even the form of law, be taken to Kentucky, or any other slave, imaured in jail, and then sold into hopeless slavery for ail fees, legislation on the subject was necessary, and he wanted time to deide what was necessary. In reply to a question, what legislation could be had upon the mat replied, that we could at least do as much as Kentucky had done. She had called upon us during the present session to throw guards around her slave property. We could and should demand that she so modify her laws, that berties of those living under the protection of ours, might e secured. Shall she be solicitous to guard her slave property, and we slumber when the liberties of our people are forcibly wrested from them, or while this can be done? He

The petition and message were laid upon the table, the atter ordered to be printed.

Expulsion of Dr. E. Beecher.

We have just received a paper, from a friend in Wiscon sin, containing the following-Nat. Enquir. We learn with unalloyed pleasure that the trustees of the ollege at Jacksonville, Ill., have dismissed from office the resident of that institution, the Rev. Edward Beecher.— The immediate cause of dismissal was, we learn, the conspicuous part which Mr. Beecher took in the abolition excitement at Alton, which terminated so tragically. But there was another cause which rendered him odious to the rustees and the friends of the college generally; and that was his insidious attempts to instil the ism into the tender minds under his charge. Now that the college is free from that vile fanaticism and its reckless advocate, we trust it may flourish; but while under his charge, we could regard it only as a nursery of the wildest and most dangerous fanaticism, and therefore totally unworthy of public confidence and patronage.

We have strong doubts of the truth of the foregoing. It s quite probable the Wisconsin paper rejoices too hastily.-Ep. Pail.

Ohio Legislature. We extract the following items from the Ohio Political Register. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Collings, and Carpenter, in relation to people of color, trial by jury, Texas, &c. Jan. 11.-By Messrs. Johnson, of Carroll, and Johnson of Stark,—several in relation to the right of trial by jury slavery in the district, Texas, colored people, &c.

istinction among our citizens on account of color, trial by Jun. 13.—By Mesers. Foot, Fowler, and Richmond relation to the colored population, slavery in the dist Texas, &c. jury, &c.

Jan. 15.—By Mesers. Wetmere and Day,—in relation to trial by jury, colored people, &c.—By Mr. Wetmere, for the passage of laws prohibiting or regulating the sale of ardent spirits; read and ordered to be laid on the table and printed.

—By Mr. Gaston, for a law making towns and cities liable

Jan. 18.—By Messra. Wetmore and Day-several for the

Jan. 19 .- By Messrs. Chambers, Day, and Gastonthe subject of slavery, trial by jury, colored people, Texas, &c.—By Mr. Gaston—for a law making towns and cities liable for damages done by mobs.

IN SENATE.

Petitions Presented and Referred—By Mr. Thomas, from citizens of Miami county, a petition for the repeal of all laws imposing disabilities on people of color.—By Mr. Vincent, from citizens of Harrison county, a petition for the repeal of all laws imposing disabilities on per

Jan, 10.—By Mr. King, from citizens of Columbia county, petitions for the repeal of all faws imposing disabities on people of color, and for a law giving to all person the right of trial by jury.—By Mr. Stokely, from citize of Jefferson county, a petition for the same purposes. Jan. 12.—Mr. Campbell,—a petition from citizens of Huron county, for the repeal of all laws imposing disabilities

Jan. 13.—By Mr. King, a petition was presented for the repeal of all laws imposing disabilities on persons of color, and for an act extending to all persons the right of trial by

jury; also, a petition for a remonstrance against the receptition into this Union of any new state whose constitution Jan. 15,-Mr. Wade, from citizens of Geauga county, a petition for extension of the right of trial by jury to all persons within the bounds of the state;—also, for the repeal of all laws imposing disabilities on people on account of color.

—Mr. M'Laughlin, from citizens of Richland and Holmes counties, a petition for the passage of a resolution in favor of the abolition of slavery in the district of Colombia, and all the territories of the United States; also, from citizens of Richland county, a petition for giving to all persons whatsoever the right of trial by jury.

Jan. 17.—By Mr. King,—a memorial from the Society of Friends, transmitting a copy of certain proceedings of said society at their last yearly meeting in this state.—By Mr. Stokely—a petition from citizens of Jefferson and Hard rison county, for an act to protect lawful assemblages of the

Jan. 19 .- By Mr. King,-s petition for a remonstrance by the legislature against the annexation of Texas to the United States; also, a petition for a protest by the legislature against the admission into the Union of any new state whose constitution tolerates domestic slavery; also petitions praying for the passage of resolutions concerning the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; also, a petition for the repeal of all laws making distinctions on account of color; also, a petition for the extension of the right of trial by jury

o all persons whatsoever, within the limits of the sta Fugitives from Labor.

We have overlooked until now an item of interest we It seems Governor Vance is in favor of even-hande

The Speaker laid before the House the following com munication from the Governor, with the documents referred to; which, on motion of Mr. Curry, was laid upon the tables

Gentlemen-I am requested by the Governor of Kentucky to lay before you the enclosed preamble and resolution, re-lative to the elopement of slaves, and the facilities afforded them by our citizens, of concealment in our state, and aid in passing through it, into the territories of Great Britain. All must agree that our duty to our sister states and the government of the Union, requires us to give our laws such rms as to secure to our fellow-citizens in the slaveholding

states, the right guaranteed to them by the constitution and laws of the United States, as well as to throw around the free people of color within our borders that protection of law that shall secure their persons from unlawful seizure whether made under color of law, or in disregard of its in-

JOS. VANCE.

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NOTICES.

RECEIPTS. PLEDGES AND DONATIONS. Freedom, Ross, Co. A. S. Society, \$10 00 \$8 00 David Jennings. Ladies of Xenia and vicinity for col. scho Friends in Morgan, Ashtabula co. for col. schools, 10 00

\$73 60 WM. DONALDSON, Treasurer. FOR PHILANTHROPIST. Wm. Thorn,

Mr. Molyneux. E. T. Tibbita Rev. Thos. Huntington, 5 00 J. P. Skinner, Esq. -4 00 A. E. Wing, . 2 00 David Espy, 9 50 Spencer Wright, Esq. 2 50 H. O. Spencer, 2 50 R. I. Dunlap. 9 50 Jno. Matson. 2 50 Jas, M'Cowen, 2 50 Alex. H. M'Eown. 2 50 Henry Johnson, -2 50 Wm. Gaston, 2 50 N. Van Fossen. 2 50 Robt. Swain. S. C. Ross, -2 60 2 50

Jno. Willoughby, -L. D. Stratton, -Rev. D. Burgese. -Addison M'Cullough, J. Burr, - -G. Burr. J. Fitts, Esq. T. Burr, Wm. Edwards. W. H. Rogers, -Geo. Keer. -Jonas Delano. -Thayre & Porter, .

Simeon Birge, -E. C. Baker, D. J. Milliken, Matthias Ware, Jos. Collins, - -Wm. Collins, Thos. Graves,
Jas. P. Scott, per R. Grosvenor, Jno. Maddock, - - -Jno. Porter, -Wm. B. Irish.

Jos. Ingram,
Saml. Cope,
Jesse Holmes,
Jno. French, S. T. Heffner,
Dr. Wm. Hance,
Wm. Burdell,
Jease Loyd,

Lemuel Jones, Jno, W. Watkins,

Jno. Watson,

Benj. Tufts, .

D. B. Bryant. . .

Fairfield A. S. Soc. per C. H. Talcott, .

David Jennings,

C. H. Talcott.

Erastus Benton,

Frederick Collins,

Mrs. Sarah Kirland,

Mrs. Mary Mumford,

Wm. Kirkland,

Nathan Dicks.

Wm. Clark,

Jos. Milton.

Jno. Hanna, Petitions Presented and Refered-By Messrs. Cur Dr. A. Brooke, Wright Haynes, Geo. Stuart, -Col. R. Stewart.

Jan. 12,-By Mr. Crew,-in relation to laws making

or damage done by mobs. Jan. 16 .- By Mr. McNary, relative to colored people. Jan. 17.—By Mr. Chambers—for a law making to and cities liable for damages done by mobs.—Bonon, several in relation to trial by, colored people Mr. Clark, for an appropriation for the erection

J. O. BEARDSENS, A.

From the New-York Evangelist. Mn. Euron,—The enclosed lines the writer took some months since from the "New-Yorker," in which paper alone, he believes them ever to have been published. They most beautifully (to his mind) describe a mother's deep, devoted affection for her first-born, and with a tenderness and pathos the most affecting and sublime, portray that grief, a mether alone is capable of feeling to its utmost extent. The writer hopes you may think they merit a place in your paper, and can but believe that the perusal of them would gettly many of your readers, to whom the author is not unknown, and is much endeared.

2. W. G.

Written on the Fifth Anniversary of an Infant Death,

Pive years! Ah, they have changed my darling one-Dust has returned to dust, long, long ago; But the immortal spirit is with God Who gave it!

Day for retrospection meet!

Meet that a mother's hand should trace with tears The pisture of thy little life-its lights And shades-its rainbow hues, that charm'd to fade, And leave the cloud arrayed in sable robe-Fit morning for thy early setting sun! I may not turn aside, as wont, dear babe! And pour the offering of a mother's tears Upon thy narrow grave-'tis far away, And moistened only by the dews of heaven Yet is thine image, both in life and death, As vividly before my vision now As when I wept upon that grassy mound, Ere yet the wild flower grew and blossom'd there. I would that tears might wash from off my heart All save the impress of thy cherub smile-Thy soft blue eyes, with their long silken fringe, Opening from sleep to pour a stream of love Into the fountains of a mother's heart, And mingle with the ceaseless current there But, ah! I see thee as a blighted rose, Whose fragile leaves drop one by one and fade, Till nought is left but a poor with'ring stem! Thou wert my first-born bud of hope and bliss. And thus thy charms faded successively, And dropp'd from off this bosom by the blight Of fell disease, till nought remained to tell What once was there but Beauty's dying stein. Yet when Death came, thou wert more beautiful Than in the Spring-time of my cherished hopes-As if a lily had put forth where once The rose did bloom-or Death return'd the smile Which Sickness stole, and left it on thy brow,

I mourn'd thee bitterly, my darling one! Thou wert the first-and O, there is a charm In that brief word which mothers only know; Yet have I chid full oft my murm'ring since, For thou wert taken from the ill to come: Nor would I call thee from the infant throng Above, to share with me the bitter cup-More bitter thrice than that I drained for thee! I would not call thee back to write the name Of 'orphan' on thy brow. No, az who poured The tears of manhood on thy coffin-lid, Hath gone to thee-and with ye both 'tis well!'

In token of the spirit's happiness,

But dost thou ask, "And is it well with thee?" Ah, yes-''tis well'-God took but what he gave; And now I've learn'd, sweet babe! what I refused To learn when sorrow's voice first bade-to say From out the heart, 'Thy will, not mine, be done!'

Cedar Brook, Plainfield, N. J.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Address on the Moral Dignity of the Office of the Professional Teacher, delivered before the College of Tea chers. By SAMUEL EELLS, Esq.

A noble subject, eloquently treated. In speaking of the A noble subject, eloquently treated. In speaking of the light estimation in which the office of the Teacher is held, and by the time the Man of Leisure had sitten out Mr. Eells draws a picture, no less striking than true. shall entitle it the

Veteran Teacher.

Mark yonder feeble and decrepit old man, as, panting with fatigue, and grasping his staff with both his hands, he slowly makes his way along one of your public streets. He is a veteran teacher. He commenced his employment in early life, and the first scene of his labors was on a bleak and rocky-hill side, in the interior of his own New England. When the call of his country rung among his native mountains, he left his peaceful charge, to meet her enemies on the tented field, and to bring home her eagles, in triumph, from the scene of battler. After the achievement of our independence, he returned to his favorite employment; and became one of a small band, who, with the axe and the rifle, plunged into the Western forests, and amidst toil, and danger, and suffering, laid the foundations of a great and prosperous peo-ple. With his own hands, he helped to pile the logs of the first school-house that was erected on the spot where now stands your proud and beautiful city; and having reared,-he entered it, and, with the devotion of an apostle, officiated as the instructor of many, whose sons and whose daughters we may now recognize around us, as the founders of families and the pillars and ornaments of society. Thousands of youth, in his day and generation, has he taken from the paternal roof, and given back to their parents and their country, with a discipline and a cultivation worthy of both. They have gone out into the four quarters of the world: they may be found scattered through all the ranks of society, in all the arts and occupations of life, and in all the liberal professions, which they live to dignify and adorn. Better than the most successful candidate for popular favor-better than he for whom we erect triumphal arches, and whose path we strew with garlands, has he merited the proud title of Benefactor of his country! But what is his reward? Throughout life he has struggled with embarrassment and want; and, forced at last, by the infirmities of three score and ten years, from his profession, he lingers out, in an obscure part of your city, a stinted and companionless old age, with no consolation for a life of unrequited toil, but the reflection that it has been a useful life; devoted, with fidelity and singleness of purpose, to the well-being of his country and his fellow-men. Mark now, the generosity—the justice, of a grateful and discriminating public! This palsied and infirm old man-this man who, more than statesmen or politicians, deserves to be honored with monumental marble, and days of public festivity and rejoicing, has come out to feel the warm light of the sun, and to gaze once more upon those new scenes which have arisen around him, and which so mournfully remind him that he is becoming "a stranger in the midst of a new succession of men."
The young, the gay, and the fashionable, throng past him, but ungreeted, unnoticed, he totters on. The men of business rush by him, and jostle him as they go. Presently he hears a confusion of mingled voices, and then cries and shouts rend the gir. Planting his stoff before him he stores and Planting his staff before him, he stops: and, as he raises his dimmed eyes, he discovers a hurrying and gathering crowd. He enquires the meaning, from some passer-by; and learns that it is the gala-day triumph of some political adventurer some heartless demagogue, who has obtained his ascendency by feeding the passions and flattering

the vanity of the people: -"The Statesman of the day, A pempous and slow-moving pageant comes.
Some shout him, and some hang upon his car
To gaze in 's eyes and bless him. Maidens wave Their kerchiefs, and old women weep for joy;
While others not so satisfied, unhorse e gilded equipage and turning loose steeds, usurp a place they well des

Why! What hath charmed them? Hath he sav'd

No. Doth he propose its salvation! No.
Thus idly do we waste the breath of praise,
And dedicate a tribute, in its use
And just direction sacred, to a thing,
Doomed to the dust, or lodged already there."

Elegant Extract.

But the moral dignity of this office [that of the teacher] appears, in the second place, in its powerful and transforming agency upon individual mind.—The work of the educator has been compared to that of the sculptor, who carves out a utiful statue from a shapeless block of marble. The illustration was common among the ancients from whom it was borrowed and very happily used by Addison; but I do not perceive that the subject is ennobled by the comparison. For, let the statue be never so perfect,-let it be wrought by the hand of a Phidias, or a Lysippus,-let it be shaped into the most noble and beautiful proportions, and touched with the most exquisite finish,—the figure is yet but a figure of stone;—hard, cold, lifeless. But education does not simply excavate the mind from its native quarry, and cast it into "the mould of form." It works an entire change throughout the whole intellectual and moral nature. It forms the man anew. It elevates him into a loftier sphere of being. It creates new senses of enjoyment,-new desires, new hopes, new aspirations, and forms the whole soul to a nobler and sublimer life. It is as if the statue, while the artist was yet bending over it with his chisel, should wax warm and start out from the marble; and the breast should heave with life, and the eye should burn with living fires, and every joint should play smoothly in its socket, and the blood should start on in its red and rapid courses; -even as if the Divinity had descended, and breathed into this cold and senseless stone, the breath of life, and the quickening spirit!- Eell's

The Cruelty of Idleness.

Idle men set a pernicious example-interrup the business of others-are always in the waylose all respect from the industrious-and accomplish more mischief than they ever repair. An idle man ought never to be encouraged. He is generally discontented himselî, and is a burden to others. The following story presents an idler in his own disgusting aspect.—N. Y. Evan.

THE MAN OF LEISURE.

The Man of Leisure called on Monday, to see Miss Emma Roberts, a pretty blooming girl of seventeen. Emma was clear-starching. Talk about the trials of men! What have they to annoy them in comparison with the mysteries of clearstarching? alas, how seldom clear! Emma was going on in the full tide of success, indulging in the buoyant thoughts of her age; there was a soft light about her eye, as she drew out the edge of a fichu, or clapped it with her small hands, as they felt the impulse of young hopes.

"I am sure Harry Bertram looked at this colla last Sunday: I wonder if he liked it," thought she, and a gentle sigh rustled the folds of the morning robe on her bosom. Just then the door-bell sound ed, and the Man of Leisure walked into the sittingroom, where Emma, with a nice establishment o smoothing-irons, &c., had ensconced herself for

the morning.
"You won't mind a friend's looking in upon you," said Mr. Inklin with an at-home air. Emma blushed, loosened the strings of he

apron. gave a glance at her starched fingers, and saying, "take a seat, sir," suspended her work with the grace of natural politeness. In the mean-while, the starch grew cold, and the irons were over-heated. Emma was not loquacious, and the dead pauses were neither few nor far between .-Emma, rendered desperate, renewed her operations, but with diminished ardor; her clapping was feeble as the applause to an unpopular orator; an hour, a grey hue, and an indelible smutch, disfigured Henry Bertram's collar.

Mr. Inklin soon called again, and met Harry Bertram. It was no influence of coquetry, but Emma rallied her powers and talked more to Mr. Inklin than to Harry, a modest youth, thrown somewhat into the shade by the veteran visitor, who outstayed him. Harry, who was not a man of leisure, could not call for several days; when he did, Mr. Inklin had "dropped in" before him, and was twirling his watch-key with his cold wandering eyes and everlasting affirmatives. Emma sewed industriously, and her dark lashes concealed her eyes. Her cheeks were beautifully flushed. but for whom? Mr. Inklin toyed with her workbox without seeming to know that he was touching

Harry looked a little fierce, and bade good night abruptly. Emma raised her soft eyes with a look that ought to have detained a reasonable man, but he was prepossessed, and the kind glance was lost. Emma wished Mr. Inklin at the bottom of the sea, but there he sat looking privileged because he was a man of leisure.

what Harry thought a shrine.

The fastening of the windows reminded him that it was time to go, for he did not limit his evening calls to an hour. Emma went to her bedroom She was just ready to cry, but a glance at her mirror showed such bright cheeks that the tears were stopped, and she felt in a passion. She tied her nighteap into a hard knot and broke the string in

"Harry Bertram is a fool," said she, "to let that stick of a man keep him from me. I wish I could change places with him;" and sitting down on a low seat, she trotted her feet and heaved some deep

The Man of Leisure "just called in" twice week for three months. Report was busy; Harry's pride was roused; he offered himself to another pretty girl, and was accepted. Emma's bright cheek faded, her step grew slow, and her voice was no longer to be heard in its gay carol from stair to stair. She was ever talkative, but now she was sad. Mr. Inklin continued to "drop in," his heart was a little love-touched, but then there was time enough. One evening he came with a look

"I have brought you a bit of Harry Bertram's wedding-cake," said he to Emma.

Emma turned pale, then red, and burst into tears. The Man of Leisure was concerned.— Emma looked very prettily as she struggled with her feelings, while the tears dried away; and he offered her his heart and hand.

"I would sooner lie down in my grave than marry you," said the gentle Emma, in a voice so loud that Mr. Inklin started, and rushing to her own apartment, the china rang in the closet as she slammed the door. Mr. Inklin was astonished. -Poor Emma covered up her heart and smiled again; but she never married, nor ever destroyed a little flower that Harry Bertram gave her when it was right to love and hope. The Man of Lei-sure bore her refusal with philosophy, and continued to "drop in" as usual.

"FIRST PURE, THEN PEACEABLE."-The kingdom of God, as we have seen, is righteousness, first. Then it is peace and joy. "The wisdom that is from above is first pure; then it is peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, and full of mercy and good fruits." But the wisdom that is from above knows nothing of peace where purity is not. Where she sees unrighteousness and wrong with all her gentleness, she is as unbending as are the everlasting hills. Right is as peremptory in her exactions as wrong can ever be in his. In truth, wrong finds his only safety in his flexibility insertions in their columns, and in so doing will his tortuous windings. Right will not recode confer a particular favor on Jones King.

from her ground, for she cannot. The only from her ground, for she cannot. The only weapon in which she delights is the sword of truth, which is the Word of God. Where she is permitted to wield that, with the freedom that is her birthright, and with the divine energy with which a righteous God has clothed her, she will trust to that for all her conquests in the world; and she asks no more than that in establishing herself and the kingdom of God in the world. But when she is forbidden to lift up her voice in the cars of the children of men, and that whenever and wherever she please, she falls down dead—for her wherever she please, she falls down dead-for her life is in her voice,—and with her dies peace, as dies the branch when the trunk from which it shoots is cut down; and then follow freedom, order, righteous law, and all that law guards, or man love, or lives for, on earth.

O, that, as a people, we may have known, even we, the things that belong to our peace before they shall be hid from our eyes .- Pierpont.

ANOTHER BREACH OF NATIONAL HONOR .- The Cherokee deputation who proceeded to Florida by order of the war department to mediate be tween the Seminoles and the United States, have returned to Washington city, having entirely failed in their mission. The principal chief, Micanopy, and twelve other chiefs, and a number of warriors having come in under the Cherokee flag of truce to the head-quarters at Fort Mellon, were seized as prisoners of war, and sent forthwith to St Augustine! It is said these Indians, thus treacherously seized in violation of every principle of honor, have been threatened with death in the event of the blood of the whites being shed in battle with the Indians yet in the field! The Cherokee delegation have protested against this violation of their flag of truce, and have demanded that the prisoners be at once set at liberty. The delegation may consider themselves fortunate if they escape to their homes in Georgia, particularly as just now that state is disposed to assert a claim to

A TALL MONSTER .- The remains of the tallest pecimen of the mammoth species which we have ever heard of, are described in a letter to the editor of the Scioto Gazette, written by Mr. James, member elect of the Ohio Legislature. Mr. James states that Messrs Briggs and Foster, who are engaged in the geological survey of Jackson county, Ohio, have discovered the fossil bones of an ani mal of the most astonishing magnitude. A tusk measured 10 feet 9 inches in length and 23 inches in circumference in the largest part, and weighed when taken from the earth 180 pounds. The largest tooth weighs 80 pounds 4 ounces; the other bones are of corresponding proportion. Whence came he, and whither have his kindred gone?

THE WOOL OF THE NORTH AND THE COTTON OF THE SOUTH .- The cotton growers of the south appear to beleive that the prosperity of the country and almost its very existence, depend upon the cotton crop; and that there is hardly anything else of any value raised in the country. What will they think when they are told by competent judges, that the clip of wool in the Northern States,so inconsiderable an item in the product of the free labor of the north, that the producers hold the whole of the last year's clip, (in consequence of the decline in price), without any anxiety to sell. is estimated to be nearly if not quite equal to the entire cotton crop of the United States: that this mere item in the produce of the north, embraces a capital of sixty millions of dollars in sheep, and one hundred and fifty millions in pasture lands, by valuation not half so extravagant as that of the Southerners in their estimate of the value of capital employed in cotton growing .- Newburyport H.

London is the largest and richest city in the world. occupying a surface of thirty-two square miles, thickly planted with houses, mostly three, four. and five stories high; it contained in 1831 a population of 1.471,941. It consists of London city, Westlets, Southwark, and Lambeth districts. In 1834 there entered the port of London 3,786 British ships, 1,280 foreign ships; 2,669 were registered as belonging to it in 1832, with 32,786 saemen. The London Docks cover twenty acres. The two West India Docks cover fifty-one acres. St. Katharine's Dock covers twenty-four acres. There are generally about 5,000 vessels and 3,000 boats in the river, employing 8,000 watermen and 4,000 labourers. London pays about one-third of the window duty. In England the number of houses assessed are about 120,000, rated at upwards of five millions sterling; about one-third are not assessed. The house rental is probably seven or eight millions, including taverns, hotels, and public-houses. -The retailers of spirits and beer are upwards of 10,000; while the dealers in the staff of life are somewhere about a fourth of this number. Numbering all the courts, alleys, streets, lanes, squares places, and rows, they amount to upwards of 10,000; and on account of their extreme points, no individ-ual could pass through them in the space of one

Professor's Wilson's fun is altogether peculiar him, and to the full as characteristic of the physical as of the intellectual constitution of the man being the result of high animal spinits, and ever teeming fancy, and a rude, rough, frolicsome con sciousness of power. A joke flies from him like a cork from a heated bottle of champagne, or ounds off like a ball from a cricket-bat in the hands of a player like himself, and is pretty nearly as difficult to stop. He was one day engaged in vehement discussion as to the Generalship of Na-polen and the Duke of Wellington—"You will allow, at all events." urged his antagonist, "that Napoleon surprised the Duke at Waterloo?" "Aye," exclaimed the Professor, "but didn't the Duke astonish him?" The half-angry, thoroughly-in Godwin on Slavery The life of Gustaves Vassa, the African earnest manner with which the retort was given, made it irresistible at the moment-but things of this kind are comparatively tame at second hand. and it is difficult to induce his friends or family to reproduce them. "What on earth," he once broke

tice, ridicules the anti-republican fondness of Americans for splendid titles. Of the American Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, it

"Of thirty-three Vice Presidents, after the Hon Stephen Van Ransselaer, President, four bear the title of "excellency," two are "right reverends," one a "general," and twenty-three "honorables." There is only one D. D., one M. D., and one plain esquire in the whole list: which is therefore pretty well betitled for a land of republican equal-

OHIO LEGISLATURE OF 37 and 38 .- The mem bers of this session are classed as follows: 52 Far-mers, 27 Lawyers, 5 Merchants, 3 Printers, 1 Ironmaster, 1 Joiner and Carpenter, 1 Tinner, 1 Gunsmith, 1 Plasterer, 1 Whitesmith, 1 Coppersmith, 2 Millers, 1 Surveyor, 3 Mechanics, 8 Physicians, and 1 Pill Pedlar. 18 are Buckeyes, natives of Ohio; and 4 are of European birth.

At Smyrna, in Asia Minor. on the 6th of April. 1837, Mr. Eleotherius Mengous.—As his only son, Mr. Peter Mengous, if alive, is probably in some part of America, and his widowed mother desires his return, the editors of the different newspapers are respectfully requested to give this one or more confer a particular favor on Jonas King.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

C. DONALDSON & CO.

IMPORTERS & DEALERS IN HARDWARE & CUTLERY, in all its Varieties. No. 18 Main street, Cincinnati

N. B.—A large assortment of the above goods kept contantly on hand, which they offer for sale, Wholesale as Retail on the most favorable terms.

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3 Hhds. of fresh Sugar Beet Seed of the most approve kind and latest importation from France. Price One Dollar per lb. C. DONALDSON & CO. No. 18, Main street, Cincinnati.

ALMANACS

Notice has already been given in the Philanthropist, that the Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1838 may be had at this Office. Comparatively few orders for them have been sent in. Why is this! We suppose it is because the value of them is not known. We would, therefore, just say to our friends, that facts more thrilling, and matter better calculated to awaken an interest in behalf of the oppressed can hard-ly be found. Many will take an Almanac, who will not read a publication on this subject. It is hoped that those who wish to aid the cause in this way will forward their or ders without delay, as the season is far advanced, and the country will soon be supplied with those of another kind.

Price \$4 per 100; 50 cts. per dozen; 6 cts. single.

Direct O. A. S. Office, Cincinnati.

J. O. BEARDSLES, Agent. COOPER'S WARE MANUFACTORY. 400 Barrel and Staff Churns,

200 Nests Tubs, 100 dozen Wash Boards, 1000 Wooden Bowls, Also—Measures, Baskets, &c. The Subscribers having now a good and extensive sto of the above articles of their manufacture on hand, offer

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ALSO— Tar, Hops, Brooms, Manilla Mats,

100 Kegs Tar, 30 Bales Hops, 50 doz. Brooms, 20 dozen Manilla Mats, superior article, with Groo ries of every variety, Wholesale and Retail.
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The unparalleled success, which has attended the administration of this medicine, induces its friends to believe that the cause of HUMANITY demands, that its virtues should be speedily made known in all parts of this Continent. The proprietors judge from letters daily received from physicians and the most intelligent citizens of various sections of our country, that no article, made known in the anhas ever given such universal satisfac sustained so perfectly the assertions of its advocates, and s rapidly gained popular favor.

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It is no new theory that alarge proportion of the discourse

It is no new theory, that a large proportion of the diseases of America, and especially of the West ond South, arise from biliary derangment of some kind. Consequently, that medicine must be used, which will remove this cause and medicine must be used, which will remove this cause and restore a healthy action of the biliary organs. The Tomato medicine is certain to produce this effect, when taken in proper season. Hence its superior efficacy and grest success in bilious fevers, liver affections, dyspepsia, diseases of the stomach and bowels, and headache; and, when taken in connection with the "Watasia," it is an almost certain cure in affections of the tanges.

The company have hitherto declined publishing certificates of cures, and will continue so to do, unless compelled to do it in conformity to the custom of the age. But, if any are sceptical in relation to the power and efficacy of this medicine, they can, by calling on the subscriber or any of the Company's agents, have their doubts removed.

Those who are laboring under diseases that calomel has failed to remove, those who have tried "every thing" until they have become discouraged and disgusted with medicine, those who have seen and felt the deleterious effects of calomel and mercurial nostrums, and those too, who esteem calomel to be the best of all medicines, are all advised to try this medicine.

try this medicine.

SALIVATION cannot be produced by its use, and the fear of taking "cold," while under its influence, is probably less than while using any other medicine. The object of the proprietors is, to make it a permanent

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The life of Gustaves Vassa, the African The Poetical works of ELIZABETH M. CHANDLER Songs of the Farz Cabinet of Freedom, 3 vols. Thompson's Debate Channing on Slavery reproduce them.
out in our hearing, after vainly appealing to the memory of the circle—"what on earth is the use of a man's having half-a dozen daughters, if they won't lineary his iokes?"—Quarterly Review.

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THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY ALMANAC for 1838,-\$4 00 per 100-50cts, per doz. 6cts, single October 27, 1837.

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EMPORIUM.

The subscriber continues to carry on the Steam Scouring business, at his old stand on Walnut street, between 3rd and 4th, and respectfully returns his thanks to the citizens of Cincinnati and vicinity, for their former patronage, and hopes by strict attention to the business to merit a continuance of their favors. His mode of renovating is upon the most approved plan. He assures the public that he will extract all kinds of Greane, Pitch, Tar, Paint, Oil &c., and restore the cloth to its former appearance without injury, by means of a composition that he uses expressly for that purpose, —Coat collars cleaned without altering their shape, and lost colors restored.

Ladies habits, table-clothes and garments of all descriptions, done at the shortest notice, and in the best possible style, —This he promises to perform or no pay.

CHARLES SATCHELL.

CHARLES SATCHELL.

Cincinnati, July 26, 1837, on's cast-off clothing bought. PARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE.

A desirable Farm, of 320 acres, situated 8 miles from town, upon both sides of a M'Adamized road, having about one half in cultivation, the rest well timbered: also a large brick house, 40 by 50 feet, with ten rooms, a hall and a cellar; a commodious barn, 45 by 60 feet, an extensive stable, a milk-house, corn cribs and other buildings, all frame; likewise a large-orchard, a frame house covering a cider-press, two hewed log houses, many springs, and a well. The land is good, eligibly situated for cultivavation, and well calculated for a country seat.

A Farm of 160 acres, situated 9 miles town, upon a M'Adamized road, having 60 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, log buildings and several springs. The soil is fair quality, and abounds in ash, beach, oak and sugar-maple timber.

A fertile Farm of 400 acres, situated 17 miles from town.

A fertile Farm of 400 acres, situated 17 miles from tow upon the Ohio, having log buildings, many springs, and 140 acres in cultivation. The tract consists of 140 acres of A Farm of 96 acres, situated 3 miles from town, near a turnpike road, with 30 acres improved, the rest well tim-bered; a well, many springs, a stable, a frame house with four rooms and a kitchen. The land is good and rolling

It will be sold low for eash,
A desirable Country Seat, situated one mile from town A desirable Country Seat, situated one mile from town, having a commanding view of the city. There are 250 acres of land, 100 of which are in cultivation, the rest well wooded; a substantial stone house, 40 by 36 feet, with 8 rooms a hall and cellar; also, an old frame house, a good frame barn, 25 by 30 feet, several log buildings, two good wells; many springs, a creek, two orchards, with 200 apple, pear, peach and plum trees, and many grape vines. The house is surrounded with locust trees and shrubs of various kinds. The land is good and rolling. It can be divided to suit purchasers.

A fertile Farm of 32 acres, situated upon a M'Adam-

ized road, 4 miles from town, with 15 acres in cultivation a small orchard, several springs, a frame barn, and a log

ouse with two rooms,

A good Farm of 100 acres, situated 5 miles from town vpon a turnpike road, with 70 acres in cultivation, an or-chard of 400 grafted apple trees, also a small orchard of choice pear trees; a frame house with five rooms, a commodious frame barn, a cow-stable, a house covering a cider mill and press, and many springs. This farm can be sold

A Farm of 50 acres, situated 10 miles from town, upon a turnpike road, having 30 acres in cultivation, a brick peach and cherry trees, a well and many springs.

and is a fair quality and lies generally well for tillage.

Five acres of land 5 miles from town, near a McAdam zed road, having a house with two rooms and a porch, a spring, 300 grape vines, 60 to 80 apple, pear, peach and plumb trees of choice kinds.

An excellent farm of 198 acres, 13 miles from town having 120 acres in a high state of cultivation, two good orchards of apple, pear, peach and English cherry trees, a large new frame barn, a good cider house, with a mill and a press, a wagon house, a corn crib, grain, smoke and carriage houses, hog pens, a new milk house with three rooms, an excellent frame house with seven rooms, a cellar and a porch; also, a first rate culinary garden, and nany springs. The land is very rich and well situated for

A fertile farm of 136 acres, 8 miles from town, with 70 acres in culture, the rest well timbered with Walnut, Blue Ash, Sugar and Locust trees. The improvements consist of a frame house, with four rooms, a celler and a porch; a frame barn, two stables, a well and a good orchard of choice fruit trees. The land is rich, rolling, well fenced and wa tered with springs.

A Farm of 62 acres, 10 miles from town, upon the Wir

ton road, having 38 acres in cultivation, a small orchard, well, several springs, a Frame Barn, and a Brick House with 4 rooms and a cellar.

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It is valuable for the broad blaze of light, which it throws

down into every corner of the horrid caverns of slavery.
Without seeming to be aware of their existence, the author
exhibits and shows up, the utter emptiness of nearly every objection against abolitionism.

A Baptist minister of Massachusetts, who is a native of A Baptist minister of Massachusetts, who is a native of Virginia, declared its decriptions to be accurate in every particular. A gentleman who was stopping at a town in New Hampshire, stated in presence of a large company, that he had resided in every slaveholding state, in the Union, and he pronounced this book a perfect picture of slavery.

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Every abolitionist should read both of the preceding works,

f he would understand how slavery, like a heavy mill stone, not only crushes the man, but grinds and man gles every fibre of his heart, white its victim lingers out a living death.

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